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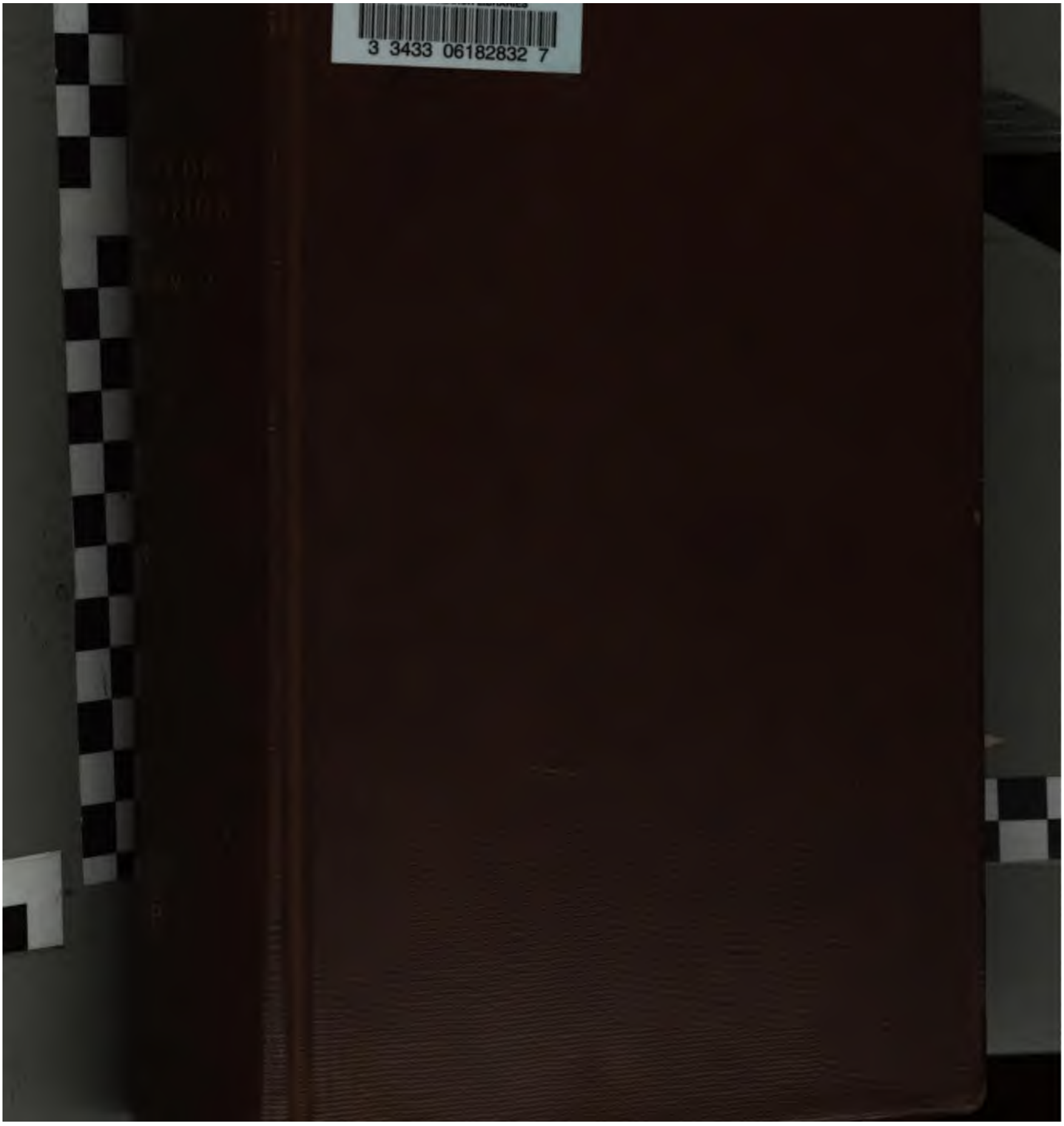
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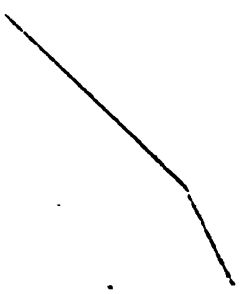

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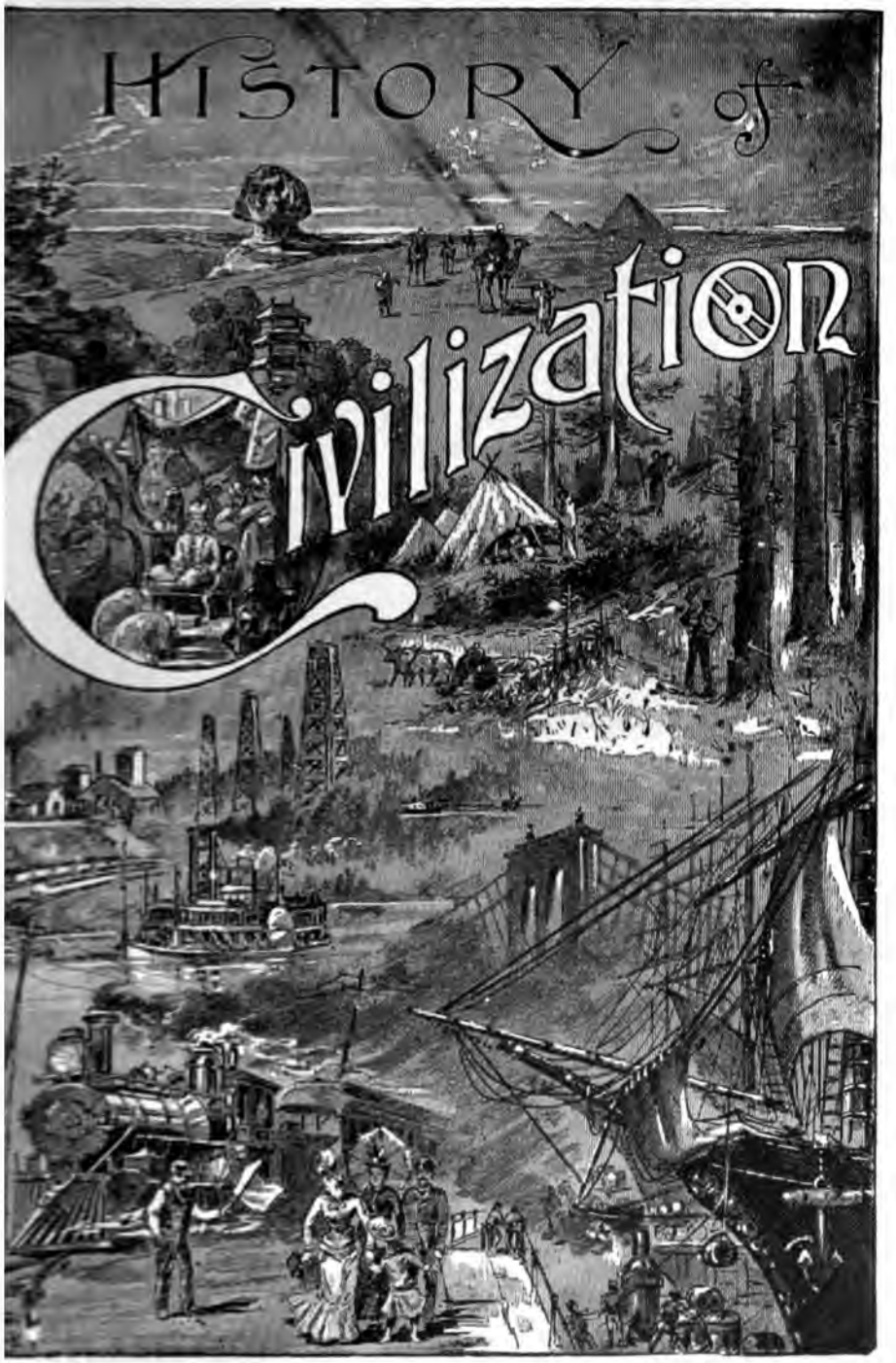
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HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION

VOL. IV.

The Modern World; OR Civilization of To-Day,

BY

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PREFACE

ARE now at the end of the line of investigation proposed for this series. Let us look over the ground whence we came. We have been considering the growth of man in culture. Our first volume is devoted to the consideration of the prehistoric period of man's life on the globe. This period, which is widely different in the various nations of the world, covers by far the largest portion of man's life. Aside from gathering information of a most interesting character on the antiquities of our own country, we wish to establish the general proposition that man's life on the globe dates from a most profound antiquity, going back indeed to a previous geological age; and we wished to show that man has lived a life of progress.

The second volume we divided into two parts. We discussed the divisions of men into races, the basis of classification, the most probable place of man's first appearance, and the condition of primitive man in culture. We aimed to trace out the origin of various social and governmental institutions. Not resting satisfied with the general statements that tribal society preceded our present form of government, we sought for the origin of tribal society itself. We took up and discussed various questions relating to primitive culture and primitive religion not usually considered in historical books. Yet their consideration is most essential in a history of culture.

We then passed in review the early history of the Yellow Races. The main position sought to be established was, as in geological history of the past one form of life slowly grows into prominence, culminates, and then declines; so did the Black Races, after long possession of the world, give place to the Yellow Races, and these in their turn give place to the Whites. The early period of half legendary history in Western Asia shows us the closing stages of this conflict between the Yellow and the White Races. We then give a further outline of the history of the Hamitic and Semitic people in Western Asia and in Egypt. Their outline, we considered, closed the ancient period of the culture history of the world.

In the third volume we entered on the Aryan age of the world. We sought to establish the European origin of the Aryans; and we aimed to show that the intellectual unfolding of Europe is like that of a cymiferous flower, the terminal blossoms are the first to unfold. Beginning with Greece, we watched the successive unfolding in culture of that country, then of Rome, and finally of Teutonic Europe. We devoted a separate chapter to Aryan religion. We do not think the Aryan race has had justice done it in this department of culture. We found that the first system of religion, world wide in its aim, sprang from Aryan beliefs.

In the present volume we have aimed to show that our present culture is simply the developed form of the culture of the Medieval World. We can not point to the merging of a new race into the light of history, possessed of the energy and buoyancy of youth, who take up the culture of the world and hurry it along to new and more exalted heights, but we can point to a combination of circumstances which resulted in starting the Aryan world forward with renewed energy in the paths of progress. These were the revival of learning, and the discovery of a new world. The revival of learning was very much assisted by the invention of printing.

In our opinion, the time has come when the general ideas as to the past of man on the globe must be reviewed and very great changes made in the current conceptions of the same. The history of man is almost the only field which has not responded to the great discoveries of modern times. Astronomy, geology, biology in both of its two main divisions, have all felt the influence of this spirit of modern learning and have accustomed themselves to new

and daring theories the comprehensive sweep of whose laws are almost startling to contemplate. It is high time to correct the exceedingly narrow views of man's past life, his progress in culture, and his destiny as a race.

This series is an effort to accomplish this work. We trust we have made it clear, that man has lived on the earth for a very long while, that his starting point was very low in the scale, that he has lived a life of progress, and that nations and races, no less than individuals, enter into the struggle of life with diverse faculties; they fulfill their allotted task and then decline in importance. Everything that goes to make up our present culture, all our governmental and domestic institutions, all our arts and sciences, the very language that we speak, are but the result of long ages of experience. It is useless to flatter ourselves that the position now reached in any of these departments of culture is the final one. When there is nothing more for man to learn, then, but not until then, may we look for change in any department of culture to cease.

A true idea of the dignity and worth of man is gained only when we take these broad general views of his antiquity and his growth in culture; when we reflect on his career in the past, we may hope to prophesy of his growth in the future. A citizen of ancient Rome in the first century of our era, could not foresee the culture of our day. It is fully as difficult for us to realize the possible civilization of one thousand years hence. Of one thing only we are sure, that advance in all departments of culture will continue. Of his life here, no less than of his life hereafter, it is true that "It doth not yet appear what we shall be."

We do not, of course, flatter ourselves that we have conclusively established every position stated. Perhaps the time and labor spent in certain directions of inquiry might have been more profitably devoted elsewhere. We believe, however, that take the entire series it will fully answer the purposes intended; that is, give full and sufficient information to those who desire to gather in a brief form the thoughts of our best scholars on these various points. We have also freely indicated to those who care to pursue the subject further where information can be obtained.

The duty of returning thanks is none the less a pleasant duty, although the same names re-appear. Again we acknowledge our

indebtedness to EMIL REICH, D. C. L., and WILLIS BOUGHTON, B. A., and we wish once more to make mention of the kind services of MR. A. W. WHELPLEY, of the Cincinnati Public Library.

In conclusion, we can only hope that as time passes on and we gain clearer light into the history of nations and races who have long vanished from the stage of action, that it will become more and more clear that the positions we have here supported as to the progress of man in culture are in the main the correct ones.

CINCINNATI, *October* 15, 1888. E. A. Allen

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Part I.

An Outline of Modern Political History.

I. History of Discoveries.

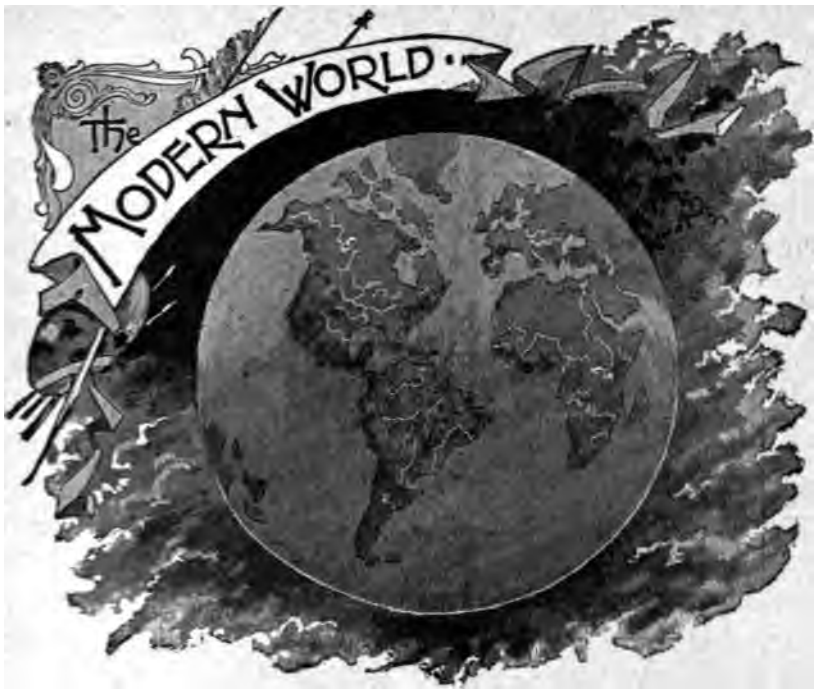
II. Modern European History.

III. American History.

The Old World bended low beneath a load
Of bigotry and superstition dark,
When Liberty, amid the tottering thrones
Of despots born, with gladness filled the homes
Of men, e'en the Eternal City bade
Her gates imperial open wide; and, like
A cloud, the darkness lifted from the land.
Then Freedom's gentle, buoyant spirit, like
The Magi's wand, extended far across
The sea, and thereupon the gloomy flood
Was parted wide asunder and revealed
A glorious paradise for Freedom's sons.

Columbia, beneath thy banner's stars,
The mind of man in rare luxuriance blooms,
Unfolding, one by one, the attributes
Of deity. In vision, we foresee
The perfect man. In form, the image of
His Maker, God. In toleration filled
With charity for all. In Reason's ways
Profound. In thought, he mounts the throne of power
And sways the world. He tries from Nature's grasp
To lure her secrets still untold till we,
Amazed at his bold course, recoil abashed.

WILLIS BOUGHTON.



CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF DISCOVERIES.

INTRODUCTION—Navigation among the Ancients—Among the Phœnicians—Among the Egyptians, etc —Greek Age of Discovery—Roman Age of Discovery—Saracen Age of Discovery—Voyages of the Norsemen—Discovery of Vinland—Icelandic Sagas—Voyages of other people to America—Venetian Explorers—Theories as to shape of the Earth—Christopher Columbus—Sources of his Knowledge—Improvement in Navigation—Outline of Discoveries.

GREATEST events in the world's history are never sudden in their origin. They are preceded by a long train of causes, and many years of slow preparation go by before the time arrives for the final consummation. On a large scale, we see this law exemplified in the slow changes of centuries ushering

in a new geological era. Our scholars are now ready to admit that some such a law as this prevails in the animal and vegetable world. Investigators are hard at work on this important subject, and we may hope some time to clearly understand it. Enough is now known to render it probable that advance has been by slow, almost imperceptible changes, slight modifications to fit slowly changing environments. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that man's advance in culture is subject to the same procedure.

No great and sudden changes seem anywhere perceptible. Slowly, with a certain majesty of movement, has one age of culture taken on the distinctive peculiarities of another.

To-day, we are living in a very advanced stage of society. The morning's sun brings to our doors fresh pages of the world's history—acted, written, read within a day's span of time; while ever the delicate, electric nerves of the busy commercial world are silently wafting to our receptive senses the echoes and instantaneous pictures of the most eventful deeds of men throughout earth's greatest circumference. When we compare this with the most brilliant culture of the Medieval World, we are conscious of a wonderful advance. Yet we err when we conclude that this great advance was the result of any sudden revival of learning, or followed fast the discovery of a new world, or a reformation in religion. These are but the stations reached in the course of the ever advancing intelligence and civilization of mankind. Great discoveries and marvellous inventions, advances in learning and changes in religion are not so much the inciting causes as the perfected fruits of advancing intelligence in general.

Ancient learning was one-sided, local, and territorial. It lacked that breadth of view which comes only with a

knowledge of the great world on which we live. Every ancient people, even those most advanced, thought their province or empire was the richest and fairest portion of the globe, they themselves the only civilized people, their god or gods the only true and powerful one or ones. These egotistical notions were great obstacles in the way of growing civilization. They are unfortunately very strong today; but, from the very earliest times, they have been gradually undermined by increasing knowledge of the world and its people. Only when we understand this, can we fully appreciate the importance of those gradually extending expeditions for trade and discovery which finally culminated in the discovery of the New World. In this chapter, we wish to trace the rise and progress of exploring voyages and show that an increase of knowledge as to the world and its people has always been accompanied by an increase of civilization.

Even in our own land, so full of restless people, the horizon that bounds the world in which the ordinary individual passes his life is very limited. To the great mass of mankind the knowledge of an outer, larger world is only hearsay. To the average man, a trip to a neighboring state is the event of a lifetime, the subject of many a fireside tale. Yet, when we regard the condition of early people, when the savage trail was the highway and the caravan the railway train, we can see that this knowledge was much more limited.

The yeoman was wont to stare with jealous wonderment at the daring individual who had chanced to journey a hundred miles or more and had safely returned to relate his adventures and hair-breadth escapes. A pilgrimage to Rome or to the Holy Land was so fraught with danger that the wise deemed it expedient to settle their earthly

affairs, and record their last wills and testaments before entering upon any such journeys. In those days a knowledge of the world's doing, outside of each one's neighborhood, was blank or else obtained after a long period of waiting.

It was similar in the case of villages, communities, tribes, and nations. The inhabitants of ancient Athens had little knowledge, so far as we know, of the opulent cities of the Orient, though the advance guard of Aryan immigration must have reached the shores of the Troad while yet Chaldean cities were flourishing in their Oriental grandeur. But we cannot define the boundaries of the world in those ancient times with any degree of certainty, for we know not from what distances the old Chaldean and Babylonian traders brought the wares that contributed to the luxury of that pristine civilization.

In tracing the growth of geographical knowledge from the dawn of history to the present time, we are apt to forget that the Egyptians, Hittites, Trojans, Phœnicians, etc., each in turn, must have had an extensive commerce, and therefore an extended geographical horizon. Starting from a classical stand-point, the geographical historian is apt to forget that nearly all the discoveries of classical or southern European nations are but re-discoveries, including even the discovery of America. We must remember, therefore, that the Arabs were perfectly familiar with the fact that Africa could be circumnavigated, that East Indian geography was thoroughly understood by Buddhist priests, that the commerce of the Jews extended from the Azores to China, from the Baltic to Mozambique, at a time when Europeans confined their voyages to the Mediterranean regions.[1] But classical writers did much to reduce the

[1] Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 454.

knowledge of geography to its present scientific basis.

In tracing the gradual growth of discovery, we go back to the fifth millenary before the birth of Christ and find ourselves before the gates of old Eridu in Chaldea, situated in that happy, fertile Mesopotamian valley, so near the storied "Garden of Eden," it had become a holy city when the first glimmerings of historical light fall upon that region. We there meet with extensive systems of canals; with enormous buildings, the materials from which[1] they were constructed of necessity being brought from distant countries (for there is neither building stone nor wood in the Mesopotamian region); with beaten caravan routes; and with many other indications of a mature civilization and an extensive knowledge of the world. Perhaps the Tigris and Euphrates were navigated to their sources; perhaps there was traffic with India and China; perhaps vast caravans, loaded with merchandise and accompanied by devout pilgrims, may have been seen, winding their separate ways toward this sacred shrine.

Though we have reached the limits of historical investigation, we must realize that we have by no means found the beginnings of commerce and navigation. From this point backward, mankind is led to theorize upon the infancy and growth of discovery. The savage is represented as too timid to venture upon the waters of even a neighboring brook, and so we are told that overland travel and discovery must have preceded river navigation. But if a Byron could swim the Hellespont, we can not see why the daring nomad of primitive times should not venture upon such streams as happened in his course. Still until canoe building had reached quite a degree of advancement, it is reasonable to suppose that commerce was carried on

1 Vide this series, Vol. II, p. 651–5.

by means of the beast of burden, and discovery by the more rapid travel on horseback.[1]

Among all people and in all ages, traders seem to have been regarded with favor; even among savage tribes their appearance was welcomed with joy, and their safety from injury guaranteed. This was, of course, the case in the Orient when history first dawns upon the world. But restless bands of nomads, who exist by plunder, have always roamed over the great deserts of Asia. Then, too, fatal

A Coracle.

sandstorms might arise at any moment upon those desert wastes and overwhelm the lonely traveler, sometimes endangering whole companies. So we see that the only safety for traders in desert countries was in traveling in bands. Therefore great companies of merchants, with armed escorts, were formed from time to time at the various centers of trade. Trains of camels, laden with the produce of the

[1] Yates: "Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce," p. 7.

land, were doubtless wont to file out of the gates of ancient commercial cities, and thread their way across the desert to a neighboring people. Such companies of merchants were called caravans and were the predecessors of the modern railway train.

In early times, distances between commercial centers must have appeared much greater than at present. The ancient traveler or merchant entered upon his journey expecting to spend many weary nights under the open sky, with the barren sand for his bed. This led such eminent and wealthy monarchs as David and Solomon[1] to construct highways over the deserts and mountains, and build public houses, about a day's journey apart, for the accommodation of caravans. These were called *caravansaries*, now represented by the inns of modern times. Such caravansaries would in time become centres of trade, from which roads diverged in every direction and where merchants met to exchange their wares. Many of the most flourishing cities of ancient times were at first nothing but caravansaries.[2]

When history dawns, there were caravan routes reaching to the remotest corners of the Old World. Since the dawn of history, Asia Minor and Egypt have been thus joined with Bactria, the Hindoo Koosh region, the Cabul valley, and India and China, while to the south and west the caravan penetrated Arabia, Ethiopia, and the heart of Africa.

During the uncertain centuries that followed the dawn of history, as the political power shifted from point to point, new routes of trade arose, and one city after another became a commercial center. It is the story of

[1] Vide Farrar: "Solomon, His Life and Times,." p. 121.
[2] Taylor: "History of the Factory System," London, 1881, p. 184-186.

every city re-told—a fertile country, an industrious people, a superabundance of produce drawing riches from the ends of the world, and transforming the desert into a thriving mart of commerce. We may imagine the busy scenes in the streets of Sirgulla, Ur, and other Chaldean cities—the mingled voices, the varied languages, and the strangely attired foreign merchants, earnestly engaged in bartering their wares or making purchases preparatory to departing for distant regions.

When, at last, maritime commerce is introduced, intercourse not only between different nations, but between parts of the same country as well, must have become much easier and more frequent. But we are still dealing with prehistoric times, for savages in the Neolithic stage of culture had comparatively safe and well made boats. Ancient inscriptions make mention of the "Ships of Ur."[1] Sargon of Accad, who lived about thirty-eight centuries before our era, tells us of the ark of reeds with asphalt lining, in which he, as a child, was cast away to perish.[2] Then, recalling to mind the fertility of Chaldean soil and the absence of all manner of raw material for the manufacture of clothing and other articles, and stone and wood for architectural purposes,[3] we can perceive how necessary the ships of Ur must have been to Chaldean commerce and prosperity. Enormous blocks of building stone could have been brought into the rich Mesopotamian valley in no other way so easily as by water. All these evidences point to an extensive knowledge of the art of shipbuilding in those most ancient seats of civilization.

We know that Egypt was foremost as patron of a

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1 Rawlinson: "Egypt and Babylonia," New York, 1885, p. 109.
2 This Series, Vol. II., p. 665.
3 Ibid: p 650; also Rawlinson, Op. cit., pp. 99, 104.

caravan commerce.[1] We have seen how early she was called upon to defend her coasts from invaders by way of the sea.[2] There has been found a bas-relief at Thebes, supposed to represent a naval battle between the Egyptians and the Indians that occurred about 1400 B. C.[3] But the Egyptians give no evidence that they were a nation of sailors, for they, in later times even, employed Phœnician sailors to conduct their maritime enterprises. Such a great commercial people as the Phœnicians were, no doubt, skilful ship-builders and expert sailors, venturing upon any voyage that promised them a sufficient reward. The storming of Ilios by sea proves that the more advanced nations of the twelfth century B. C. understood how to build a strong and durable class of ships.

With the advent of the Phœnicians, we begin to notice improvements in the science of navigation. The nautilus of the Mediterranean, so the poets say, first taught man the use of the sail, and the single square sail appeared upon the Mediterranean at the close of the thirteenth century B. C.[4] Still the oar continued for many centuries more the principal means of propelling a ship. The great ship of Ptolemy Philopater is said to have carried four thousand rowers.[5] Then the Tuscans invented the anchor, and soon the chains gave place to cables made of hemp, flax, or some such material manufactured in Egypt.[6] The first light-house was erected near Alexandria at the beginning of the third century B. C. It was "a white marble tower, one hundred and thirty-five feet high, on the top of

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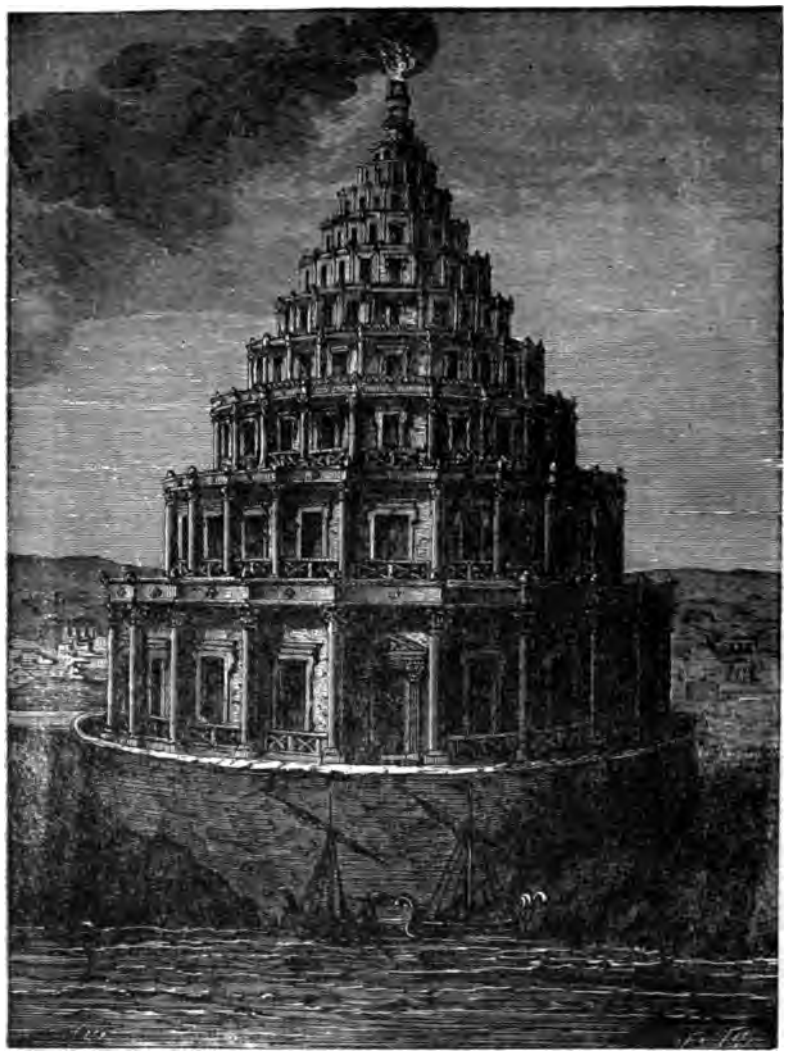
[1] Yeats: "Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce," p. 7.
[2] This Series, Vol. II., p. 598.
[3] Parker: "Fleets of the World," New York, 1876, p. 11.
[4] Low: "Maritime Discoveries," Vol. I., p. 7.
[5] Lindsay: "Merchant Shipping," Vol. I., p. 61.
[6] Low: Op. cit., p. 11.

which fires were constantly maintained for the direction of ships along the coast."[1]



Pharos at Alexandria.

Still life upon the water was full of danger and un-

[1] Ibid: p. 36.

certainty. There was no mariners' compass then;[1] and the sailor hugged the land as closely as possible, or trusted to the guidance of stars. Sometimes birds were taken on board and at intervals were thrown into the air, the sailor knowing full well that they would take the shortest course to land. If no land were in sight, the frightened bird would soon rest again upon the vessel's deck. But oft the superstitious rover of the seas felt the need of the watchful care of deity, and so he prayed to the "Twin Gods"[2] for help. When he saw the fires of St. Elmo playing about the vessel's spars, he knew that he was in their immediate presence. Improved methods in ship-building kept pace with the increased knowledge of navigation. Princes and kings began to pride themselves on the magnificence of their vessels. Ptolemy Philopater built two that exceeded in size many of more recent construction. King Hiero of Syracuse built a veritable palace upon water, and sent it as a gift to Ptolemy.

As we pass over era after era of ancient history, we perceive that the centers of political power were constantly changing from one portion of the world to another. So, likewise, were the centers of commerce, but we cannot point to a time when we can assert that these ancient cities had lost or forgotten any portion of the earth's surface known to their ancestors. Assyria and Babylonia arose into power and controlled, for a time, the commerce of the world. The luxury loving people of Babylon must have ivory and pearls from India, delicate fabrics and carpets

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[1] For though the Chinese may have understood some of the properties of the magnet at an early date, we are in error to suppose that they had anything like the mariners' compass. Vide Lindsay: "History of Ancient Commerce and Ancient Shipping," London, 1874, Vol. I., p. xlii and xliii; also Yeats: "Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce," p. 94.

[2] Gemini—*i.e.*, Castor and Pollux.

from Kashmir, their spices from Arabia, wares from Ethiopia, their Tyrian purple robes, and enormous quantities of gold, silver, tin, and copper. The demand for all these foreign articles made Babylon, in the eyes of the prophet, a "land of traffic, a city of merchants."[1]

Such was the case, too, in Egypt, whose cities commanded both the Occidental and Oriental trade. The traveler in Memphis might have met Ethiopian, Arabian, Babylonian, Indian, Median, and perhaps, Chinese merchants, bartering their wares in her markets. We must not forget the great Hittite confederacy, whose capital was the flourishing city of Carchemish,[2] the date of whose power carries us back to the fourth millenary before Christ. We are told that they were a great commercial people in the earliest times. They seem to have been the carriers for the nations of the world. The fact that they stood at the head of the commercial world is indicated by their introducing a system of standard weights that, for many centuries, was the principal system used by the trade.[3] Although we are not aware how extensive a knowledge the Hittites had of navigation, we can not believe that they were too timid to explore their own coast-lines and to utilize their knowledge of the sea in carrying articles of trade from one point to another. There is little doubt but that they were well acquainted with the coast-lines of those parts of the Euxine, Mediterranean, and Indian seas that touched their territory.

Ancient Ilios must also have been quite a commercial center, for the ruins that have been unearthed there prove that the Hittites were long accustomed to bring to her

[1] Ezek. xvii., 4.
[2] This Series, Vol. II., p. 390.
[3] Wright: "Empire of the Hittites," p. 67.

markets articles of Assyrian and Babylonian manufacture.[1] Even the Chinese put forward a claim to a share in this ancient commerce. Le Fangpao, Chinese ambassador to Berlin, has recently claimed and interpreted as Chinese, an inscription upon a vase found in the lowest stratum at Hissarlik.[2] Be this as it may, Ilios must have commanded

An Ancient Ship.

the trade of the world, and must have had an extensive knowledge of the world's geography. She no doubt had amassed so much wealth that it aroused the avarice of the piratical Greeks, by whom she was sacked. In fact, her

[1] This Series, Vol. III., p.

[2] European scholar, however, ridicule the idea that anything Chinese can have found its way to Hissarlik. Still there is no reason why the Chinese, even at that early time, may not have shared in the commerce of Western Asia. Such a conclusion would be directly in keeping with our ideas. Vide Low: "Maritime Discovery," London, 1881, Vol. I. p. 54.

wealth may have been the prime incentive to her destruction by the Greeks. There is little doubt that she had constant commercial intercourse with her ancestral kinsmen, the Thracians, and, perhaps, with many other people of Southern Europe. This is evidenced by the fact, that the traces of the same Hittite influence, unearthed at Ilios, have been discovered in the pre-historic ruins of some of the cities of Southern Europe.[1]

The extent of ancient commerce is indicated also by one of the earliest Biblical records. The sons of Jacob sold their brother Joseph to a company of Midianites, who took him into Egypt where they sold him.[2] Thus, no doubt, did companies of traders thread their way from the cities of one country to those of another; and, even if no Egyptian found his way to distant China, there is no good reason for supposing that Egyptian merchants did not meet Chinese traders at some mid-way caravansary, and there exchange wares, and learn of the customs of the far Orient. In the eleventh Egyptian dynasty, the first recorded voyage to that mysterious land called Punt was made. One Hannu[3] was commissioned "to conduct ships to the country of Punt, to bring back odoriferous gums."[4] Just where this Punt was, is open to conjecture. It may have been in Arabia, where the air is redolent with the perfume of spices, or it may have been in Ethiopia or India. The rarity of the occurrence, however, drew from its commander the boast that "never had a like thing been done since there were kings." The Egyptians were thus among

1 Vide This Series, Vol. III. p. 195.

2 Gen. xxxvii. 27-36.

3 It is claimed that he was a Phœnician. The name would indicate as much. The name Punt has also been traced back to Phœnician origin in the words *Porni*, *Punici* and *Punic*. Vide Rawlinson: "Ancient Egypt," Vol. II. p. 132 and 222, note 3; also This Series, Vol. II. p. 725.

4 Wilson: "Egypt of the Past," p. 132.

the earliest patrons of discovery, though they usually employed Phœnicians to conduct their voyages. The name of the classical god of the sea, Neptune, is even said to be of Egyptian origin.[1]

We have already said much about the Phœnicians[2] and their extensive commerce, but we can probably never know the extent of their knowledge of the world. They conducted the ships of Solomon to Ophir[3] and Tarshish;[4] and, if they visited both places in one continuous voyage, we must allow them a knowledge of the entire coast-line from India to the inmost harbors of the Euxine Sea. They succeeded the Hittites, and, as carriers for King Solomon, must have visited every known land, if the stories of his wealth and luxurious court life be true.[5] Tyre and Sidon were, however, flourishing commercial centers long before the time of Solomon. Whether the Phœnicians had thus early reached China and Britain is a matter for conjecture.

About the middle of the seventh century B. C., we learn[6] that Necho II., of Egypt, fitted out vessels, manned them with Phœnicians, and instructed them to follow the coast of Africa from the Red Sea around to the Straits of Gibraltar, and thence to the Egyptian capital.[7] It required nearly three years to accomplish the voyage. In Summer, they are said to have halted long enough to raise a crop of grain, before proceeding on their way. In sailing around Libya, these daring voyagers were surprised to observe the sun rising upon their right—a fact which Herodotus[8]

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1 Villiers Stuart: "Nile Gleanings," p. 290.
2 This Series, Vols. II. and III. 3 India. 4 Spain.
5 Vide Farrar: "Solomon, His Life and Times," pp. 129-138.
6 Herodotus iv. 42.
7 Wilkinson: "Ancient Egyptians," Vol. I. p. 108.
8 iv. 42.

doubts, but we now claim this statement as the most convincing proof that the voyage was made. As a punishment, Xerxes is said to have commanded one Teaspes to make a sea-voyage around Africa, from the Mediterranean to Arabia, but this is said to have been a failure.[1] Pliny[2] mentions the voyage of one Hanno, a Carthagenian, who, when Carthage was at the height of her power, was commanded to make the voyage from that city to Arabia, which he was successful in doing. We judge from all these accumulated bits of evidence that the entire coast of the African continent was frequently visited by the Phœnicians nearly two thousand years before Da Gama's memorable voyage.

In a northerly direction, the Carthagenian, Hamilco, had been sent upon a voyage to explore the remote parts of Europe.[3] This voyage was made about the same time as that of Hanno. But now, just when they were extending their voyages in all directions, they themselves became the prey of their more warlike contemporaries, and at last they lost their nationality, utterly destroyed by the jealousy of Rome. Though they carried a knowledge of letters to other nations, unfortunately they left no records of their own voyages, hence it is impossible for us to decide how much they knew of the extent and resources of the world. We have now to place ourselves alongside of the rising Europeans, and go with them while they re-discover those parts of the world that were doubtless familiar to the more ancient people of Africa and Asia.

The first Greek historian (of whose writings any great portions are extant), Herodotus,[4] gives a description of the world as known to the Greeks.[5] If we look at the world

[1] Ibid. [2] "Natural History," ii. 67; v. 1.
[3] Pliny: Op. cit. [4] About 450 B. C.
[5] The geographical books of Homer are very blind and indefinite.

through the eyes of Herodotus, it will assume the shape and proportions of the accompanying map,[1] and we can at once see that the knowledge of the world outside of the Mediterranean region among the early Europeans, was very limited. The probabilities are that almost any one of the earlier Phœnician traders could have furnished a more perfect chart of the Old World coast-line. In fact, the Greeks, at the time of Herodotus, were just beginning to re-discover what had for many centuries been familiar to older civilizations.

Xenophon's account of the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks who accompanied the expedition of Cyrus the younger against his brother, Artaxerxes, was a great contribution to Greek knowledge of Asia. Between Xenophon and the time of Alexander the Great there appeared other works on geography and kindred subjects, chief among which was the Periplus of Scylax, the first purely geographical treatise.[2] It shows a more accurate knowledge of the coast-lines of the Mediterranean as well as the more familiar parts of Asia and Africa. Geographical knowledge among the Greeks made a great advance when Alexander the Great pushed his conquests into Asia. He took with him scholars, philosophers, and scientists, and the information that they carried back to Greece, together with that obtained on the voyage of Nearchus down the Indus and along the southern coast of Asia, gave their countrymen a much clearer knowledge of Asiatic geography than they had previously enjoyed. This knowledge was still further increased when Megasthenes returned from

The writings of the historian and geographer, Hecatæus, who wrote about the close of the sixth century B. C., exist only in fragments.

[1] P. 40.

[2] Vide Bunbury: "History of Ancient Geography," Vol. I. p. 379. *et seq*

the court of Sandrocottus with information as to the Hindoos and their country. The Ptolemies finally succeeded to the throne of Egypt, and pushed their explorations into Africa, so that, in the third century B. C., the horizon of the classical world became greatly enlarged, though still vague and indefinite.

Magellan.

Corinth and Athens became at one time the great centers of eastern and western commerce. Miletus, Phocæa, Ephesus, Smyrna, Syracuse, and Massilia, though of less importance, vied with one another in commercial enterprize.[1] About the close of the fourth century B. C.,

[1] Taylor: "The Factory System," p. 192.

Pytheas, of Massilia, made his voyage to Northern Europe, exploring Britain and the Baltic regions. It only remained now for Southern Europeans to familiarize themselves with the regions already vaguely known. This result was brought about by the conquests and government of Rome. Though the Roman Empire never embraced as much of Asia as did Alexander's, their system of government familiarized them with every portion of Roman territory; while their system of roads furnished protected highways for commerce.[1]

Roman luxury has ever been the wonderment of the world. Vast fortunes were spent by her epicures for rarities for their dainty palates. The markets of the world were searched for the luxuries of all countries. Though we can not commend the spirit which initiated these expeditions, we can exult in the resulting increase of knowledge. A writer of the Imperial period says: "If a man will eat daintily, he must indulge in Lamian peacocks, Phrygian fowls, Melian cranes, Ætolian kids, Chalcedonian porpoises, Tarentine oysters, Chian mussels, Egyptian dates, Spanish acorns, sea-eels from Tarshish, pikes from Pessinus, sea-fish from Rhodes." They drank pearls dissolved in vinegar and killed nightingales for their brains alone They wore the costliest purple robes, the rarest silks that the factories could produce, and the finest furs that the Scythian forests could furnish. Thus we can gain an idea of the world's horizon to Imperial Rome.

With a greater store of facts to draw upon, books on geographical subjects and charts began to appear. In this direction the philosophical Greek took the lead. The first charts were rude and imaginary. The earth's surface was regarded as rectangular in shape, or circular, surrounded by

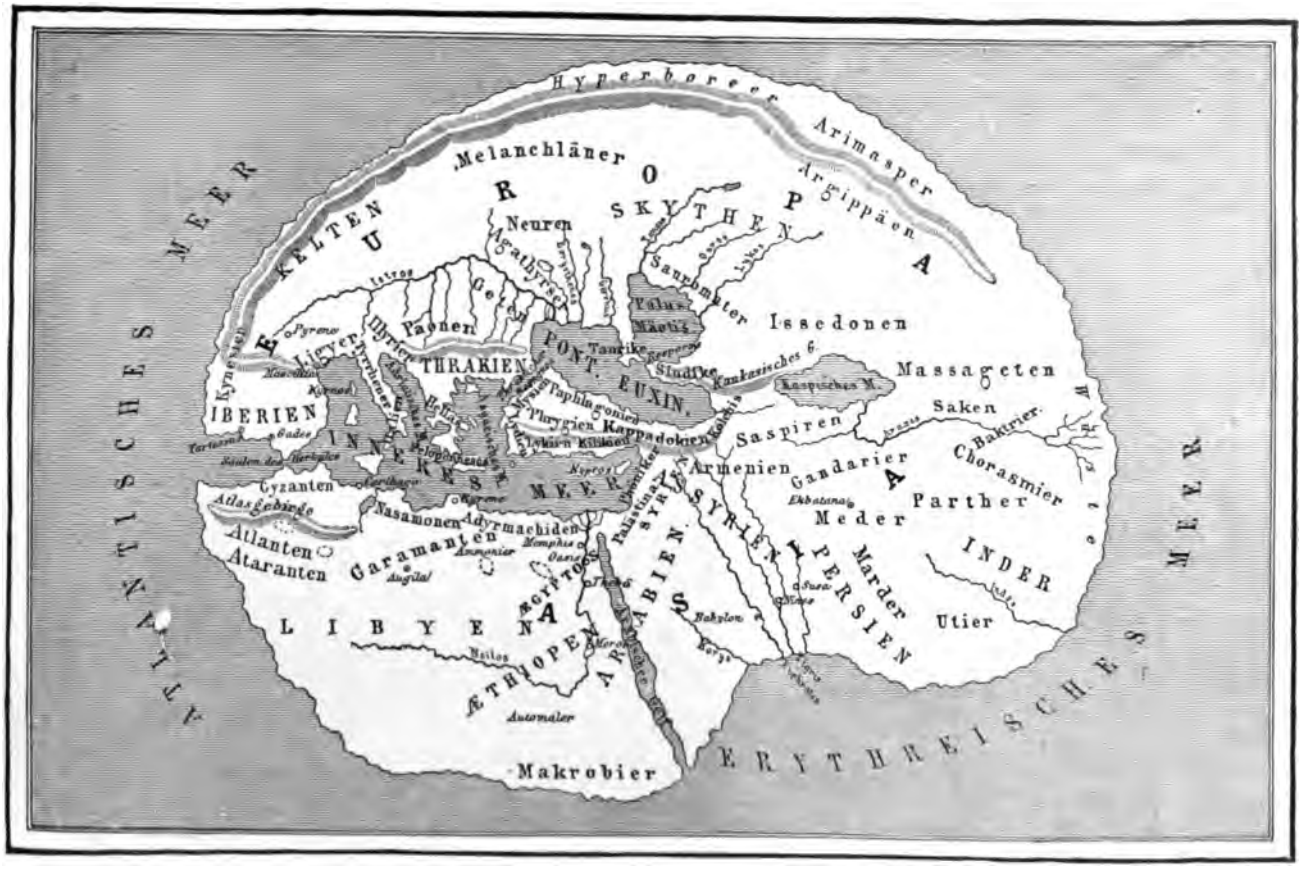
[1] Yates: "Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce," pp. 61-2.

that endless stream, called Oceanus. Still, as early as the time of Aristotle and Euclid, the spherical form of the earth had many advocates.[1] Eratosthenes appears as the first who made the attempt to reduce the study of geography to a scientific basis. Accepting the spherical form of the earth, he attempted to locate places by means of a system of latitude and longitude which has been perfected into our present system of geographical measurement.[2]

Henceforth we are not wanting in chroniclers of the more important events of the world's history. Such writers as Polybius, Cæsar, Tacitus, Strabo, and Pliny have given us measurably full and accurate ideas of the manners, customs and knowledge of the world during the Roman period though they knew little about the far Orient. Constantinople and Alexandria became the great commercial centers of those days, especially after the fall of Tyre and the division of the Empire. Then came the rise of Mohammedan power, but fortunately the Arabs were friendly to the merchant, and even patrons of commerce. In the seventh century A. D., they gained the ascendency in Asia and Africa, and thus they not only commanded the caravan routes over which the rare luxuries that the Roman epicure demanded must be brought, but even occupied the countries where spice and incense bearing plants grew. This trade was very flourishing. So great was the demand for spices at Rome in the time of Nero, that we are told that the emperor "burnt at the funeral of his wife, Papæa, a quantity of cinnamon and cassia greater than the countries from which they are imported were capable of producing in one year."[3]

On the whole the period of Arab power in Western

[1] Bunbury: "History of Ancient Geography," p. 619.
[2] Ibid. [3] Lindsay: "Merchant Shipping," Vol. I. p. 110.



THE EARTH ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS

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Asia and Northern Africa was one of the happiest and most prosperous that these regions have ever enjoyed. The Arabs seem to have been the merchants and navigators of that period, and added considerable to geographical knowledge. The monsoon or periodical winds of the Indian Ocean were utilized, and thus voyages were made directly across the Indian Ocean.[1] Damascus and, later, Bagdad became centers of Arab commerce. From these points, caravan routes diverged toward all known lands, three of which eventually reached Canton,[2] while Arab merchants of India penetrated to the Indian Archipelago. Of especial importance were the caravans that penetrated Africa even to the banks of the Niger in search of gold, slaves, and wild beasts to supply an ever increasing demand. The eastern coast of that continent, even as far as the island of Madagascar, was well known to them. A love of travel was thus engendered. Wealthy Arabs were accustomed to send their sons to distant lands to complete their education. They were in this way able to select teachers from among the scholars of the world. It should be known

Vasco Da Gama.

1 The first voyage was made by one Harpalus, about 50 B. C. Vide Low: "Maritime Discovery," Vol. I. p. 101.

2 Yates: "Op. cit. p. 86.

that the oldest written account of China extant comes from the pen of an Arab traveler.[1] But, unfortunately, the religious feud that existed between Christian and Mohammedan grew in strength with passing time. All connection between the two gradually became severed. The Christians wanted nothing to do with the "infidels," while the Mohammedans spurned with scorn the "Christian dogs." The long and dangerous caravan route from Constantinople around the Caspian Sea, thence into China and India, rendered Oriental luxuries very expensive to the Christians, but since they regarded it infamous to have even commercial dealings with unbelievers, this was the only road open for eastern commerce. The Saracens moreover held territory on both sides of the Straits of Gibralter, and cut off much of the traffic through this gateway to the ocean. One people, however, the Venetians, continued to trade with the Saracens, and by the fruits of this trade grew into the most powerful and opulent state on the Mediterranean coast.

We must now turn our attention in an entirely different direction. While Moslem and Christian were fighting for possession and supremacy over the lands and waters already known to the world, a new race of sailors suddenly made their appearance in the Mediterranean. These were the hardy giants from the north, who, we have seen,[2] played such an important part in settling the affairs of Europe and building up modern nations. If we would follow the progress of discovery through the next few centuries, we must follow the Northmen as their ships plowed the trackless ocean. Charlemagne had watched their ships sailing the seas, and had foretold the destined power

[1] Kerr's "Voyages and Travels," Vol I. p. 48 *et. seq.*
[2] This Series, Vol. III. ch. v.

and influence of this people. We have already seen how they visited the shores of Britain, France, Spain, Italy, and Greece, how they settled Russia, and controlled the Baltic regions. Even before this, they had taken possession of the fiords and islands of Scotland and the coasts of Ireland. The vessels which they used were of an improved style, distinguished for their strength and the ease with which they could be handled. We find recorded in the Sagas a description of an old Norse vessel called "the Long Serpent," which was one hundred and fifty feet long,[1] but still dexterously handled in battle.

When, by the consent of King Aelfred, large numbers of Danish Northmen became English subjects, they seemed to bear with them the spirit of discovery and adventure, besides furnished the king with the best material from which to construct a navy. But his voyages of discovery concern us the most. Aelfred had, no doubt, heard much of the homeland of these daring Northmen and his first voyage was mainly in that direction, and was commanded by a Dane named Othere. As a result of this voyage, the English were made acquainted with the Baltic shores and the coasts of Norway and Lapland.[2] Nor did King Aelfred's enterprise stop here; for, learning of the distress of some Christians at St. Thomas, on the Malabar coast of India, he is said to have dispatched vessels, loaded with supplies for them, and thus established a trade with India[3] which was kept up during his entire reign.[4] In such ways, Aelfred gained much information, which he embodied in a geographical history of the world that exists among his other literary works.[5]

[1] Vide Lindsay: "Merchant Shipping," Vol. I. p. 334. For a translation of the Sagas, see Parker: "Fleets of the World," p. 168 *et seq.*

[2] Low: "Maritime Discoveries," Vol. I. p. 124.

[3] Probably via Jerusalem. [4] Lindsay: Op. cit. p. 350.

[5] Kerr: "Voyages and Travels," Vol. I. p. 22.

By the close of the ninth century, then, these Northmen had formed permanent homes in Britain, France, Russia, and Iceland, while few places near the sea-coast or larger rivers of Europe were safe from their ravages. In

Ancient Danish Boat.

what direction could they now turn the prows of their long ships? The answer to this question is Iceland, "the land of frost and fire." This island has an interesting history,

which we must glance at for a moment. We must remember that it was the haven toward which persecuted Northmen turned, sure of protection if only by the isolation of the place.

Iceland had become known to the Northmen as early as the last years of the ninth century, and was colonized before the tenth century began; but there is a tradition that even these Northmen expelled from that island some Irish settlers who had preceded them there.[1]

So great became the desire to migrate to Iceland, that it was at last forbidden by royal proclamation.[2] Here in their isolation dwelt for a long time a peculiar people. They breathed the air of independence and developed into a flourishing little republic. Iceland, especially the southwestern part, was a much more attractive country then than now. It was a fertile, alluvial district, for Hecla had not then burst forth in flame, and showers of sand and floods of lava were unknown. It was a veritable Eden to the Northmen who had lived in snow-bround Norway.[3] There several families grew in wealth and influence, equal in their little sphere to many petty princes of the continent. In 983, they colonized Greenland, and thenceforth communication between the two countries was kept up.[4] In the place of books,[5] however, they had their professional reciters who were expected to memorize and relate, from time to time, the events that transpired in their lonely home, and the deeds of heroism with which their lives abounded.

[1] De Costa: "Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Norsemen," Albany, 1868, p. xxii. *et seq*; also Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 606.

[2] Sclafter: "Voyages of Northmen to America," Boston, 1877, p. 13.

[3] Dasent: "Burnt Njal," Vol. I. p. lxviii. *et seq*.

[4] Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 604.

[5] Except, perhaps, Runic writing.

As time went on, just as in the case of their classic brethren, there arose a race of poets, who gathered all these sacred tales together, and, beautifying them with song and poetic coloring, were wont to follow, with their listening groups of hardy Northmen, the heroes of their songs on long and perilous journeys. A mass of traditions thus arranged was called a *Saga*, while the reciters were called *Sagamen*. The republic grew and throve; and these sagas and sagamen increased in like proportion. Every prominent hearthstone probably echoed oft repeated songs, and thus the long and bitter winter evenings were happily whiled away. Time passed on, and pious monks arrived in Iceland bringing with them Christianity and letters. One of the first results was to reduce the sagas to writing. The monks were busy copying and embellishing the epics which they heard at every fireside. Their task was not a tedious copying of dry annals. Their pens noted beautiful thoughts, charmingly expressed; thrilling adventures told with life-like power; true historical sketches; and even fiction—in short, all forms of literature, heightened by the rythm and metre of the poet's art.

Many volumes of literature were thus produced in Iceland. They were not hastily written, but carefully transcribed on parchment and beautifully embellished. Every page is a perfect specimen of the penman's art.[1] The thirteenth century was the "golden age" of Icelandic literature. A vast number of sagas were reduced to writing. Each class of literature was a masterpiece of its kind. The fictions are complete works of the novelist's art. The historical sagas have, many of them, been verified by inscriptions and other evidences, so that historians have

[1] Vide fac-simile of these parchment manuscripts in Rafn: "Antiquities Americannæ," Hafnæ, 1831; also Sclafter, Op. cit. p. 10.

felt inclined to place reliance in them. During our own century, the most of these old volumes have been gathered into the libraries of Copenhagen and Stockholm, where modern scholars have interpreted their contents for us. It will interest us, perhaps, to glance at some of these old sagas.[1]

Among this mass of literature, there are two sagas that have revolutionized early American history. These are the "Saga of Erik the Red" and "Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne" (the Hopeful). The former is supposed to have been written in Greenland, but the manuscript was transferred to the island of Flatey, near Iceland. There it has been preserved for us. From the manuscript itself, historians have fixed the date when it was reduced to writing as between the years 1387 and 1395.[2] The latter saga is thought to have been written by Hank Erlenson, who was chief governor of Iceland in 1295. It forms a part of the Arnæ-Magnean collection of old Norse manuscripts, consisting of two thousand volumes, now stored in the royal library at Copenhagen.[3]

The Saga of Erik relates, first, his own voyage to Greenland and subsequent colonization of that country. Then we are told of one Bjarni, who attempted to follow his father, one of Erik's companions, to Greenland.[4] None of the sailors with Bjarni knew the way, but they did not doubt that they could find the country. Knowing that it was a mountainous, icy land, they determined to sail until they found such a country. They put to sea (A. D. 986) and

[1] Vide Sclafter: "Voyages," p. 15.

[2] Vide Rafn: "Antiquitates Americanæ," p. 4; also Sclafter, Op. cit. p. 45, note 44.

[3] Sclafter, Op. cit. p. 17, note 5.

[4] These facts about Erik the Red, and other Greenland discoveries are found in Old Norse, Danish, and Latin, in Rafn, Op. cit. pp. 3-76.

sailed before fair winds for three days, then there arose north-winds and fogs, and for many days they knew not where they were. When it cleared up they continued their westward journey for another day before they saw land. They sailed close to this land which was covered with wood, but was mountainless. Bjarni claimed that it was not Greenland, "because in Greenland are said to be high ice-hills." So he bade his men sail on. They sailed again for two days, when another land came in sight, but it was flat and wooded. So he bade them again sail on. They put out to sea, and, before a south-west wind, sailed for three days more, when they sighted land which, to Bjarni, appeared "little inviting." They spread their sails to the breeze again and spent four days more upon the sea, when they reached a fourth land, which, Bjarni pronounced to be Greenland, and such it proved to be.

The subsequent career of Bjarni does not interest us. He paid a visit to Erik, Earl of Norway, became one of his courtiers, but afterwards returned to Greenland where he dwelt with his father. It was always a matter of regret that he did not land and explore the three countries which he sighted when he was searching for Greenland. Curiosity in regard to them grew apace, and a spirit of adventure having for an object voyages of discovery, sprang up. This spirit finally reached Brattahlid, where dwelt Erik the Red and his three sons, Leif, Thorvald, and Thorstein. Leif, the oldest of these sons, determined to explore the lands which Bjarni had discovered. So he bought the latter's ship and engaged thirty-five men to accompany him. Among them was one Tyrker, a German, who had dwelt in a land where the vine was cultivated.

They therefore prepared their ship and put to sea. They first touched an ice-bound coast, upon which was no

grass; but a floor of flat stones led from the sea to the neighboring mountains. They landed, and Leif called this country Helluland.[1] They sailed on, and found another land, flat and covered with wood. They cast anchor, went ashore, and named the country Markland.[2] They immediately sailed out to sea again, and continued on their

English Ship of Fifteenth Century.

journey for two days before a north-east wind. At last they reached a sound with a large island on one side and a high promontory on the other. They landed and felt that it was good for them to remain here for the winter. So at high tide they passed up a river to a lake, and there

1 "Flat Stone Land," Supposed to be Newfoundland, vide Rafn, Op. cit. 2 "Woodland," Nova Scotia.

cast anchor.[1] They busied themselves for a few days, erecting houses and booths to shelter them from the winter storms; and then they set about exploring the surrounding country.

This was indeed a fortunate land in the eyes of these Northmen. The rivers were full of large salmon, and the climate was so mild that they judged that cattle would not need house-feeding in winter, for the grass was scarcely withered by the frost. Then, too, the days were of more equal length than in Greenland, "for on the shortest day was the sun above the horizon from half-past seven in the forenoon till half-past four in the afternoon."[2] It happened one evening that Tyrker, the German, did not return to the houses, and much fear was entertained for his safety. But when they went to search for him, they met him returning in a drunken condition, from grapes that he had discovered and eaten. When he had sufficiently recovered from his drunkenness, he explained to them about the grape and its value. From this circumstance they called the country Vinland. They spent the balance of the winter loading their vessels with grapes and grape wood. When their ships were loaded they put to sea and sailed direct to Greenland. This was A. D., 1000–1001.

This winter Erik the Red died, and Leif came into possession of his father's estate. The next year, Thorvald, the second of Erik's sons, determined to visit Vinland. He spent a pleasant winter in the houses that Leif had built. But in the summer following, he was killed in a battle with the natives,[3] and was buried on the coast of

[1] Probably in the vicinity of Nantucket. Rafn, Op. cit

[2] Slafter: "Voyages," p. 33. From this statement the latitude has been reckoned at 41°, 43′, 10″ (Ibid. note 28). Professor Rafn calculated it 41°, 24′, 10″. Vide "Antiquitates," xxiv. cf. Horsford: "Discovery of America by Northmen," Boston, 1888, p. 67 *et seq.*

[3] The description of these natives seems to show that they were Es-

Vinland. The third son, Thorstein, then attempted to go to Vinland, to bring his brother's body home. But it was a tempestuous summer, and he made no headway. At last his vessel drifted to a settlement on the western coast of Greenland where he also died. His wife, Gudrid, returned to Leif with his body and the sad tidings.

In the fall of 1006, there came to Brattahlid an Icelander named Thorfinn Karlsefne, who shared the hospitality of Leif Erikson during the winter. He was a successful trader and an honorable man. So when, at Yuletide, he asked Leif if he and Gudrid might marry, the nuptials were celebrated without delay. In the spring, Karlsefne and his wife, Gudrid, determined to make a voyage to Vinland. They organized a company consisting of one hundred and sixty men. The company visited Helluland and Markland, and, at last, landed in the vicinity of Martha's Vineyard.[1] It was not all harmony among the company and a part turned homeward. Traditions are divided as to whether they were lost or reached the coast of Ireland, where they were made slaves. But Karlsefne remained in various parts of the land for three winters, trading with the natives. The first autumn (1007) there was born to him a son whom he called Snorri. At last (1010), they became discouraged at continual fighting with the natives, and returned to Greenland. Thence Karlsefne sailed to Norway with a ship "so nicely laden that it was generally admitted that a more valuable cargo had never left Greenland." He, however, removed to Iceland where he purchased an estate. There his descendants dwelt for several centuries and were ranked among the

kimos, which at that time probably inhabited the eastern coast of the United States. Vide This Series, Vol. I. p. 299

[1] The Saga of Karlsefne is given in three languages in Rafn: "Antiquitates, pp. 79-200.

noble innabitants of the island. After his death, Gudrid made a pilgrimage to Rome. In the meantime, Snorri built her a church, and upon her return she became, for the rest of her life, a nun and a recluse.[1] In 1011, Freydis and her husband conducted another small fleet of vessels to Vinland, where they wintered in the dwellings erected by Leif. This company seems to have been gathered from the scum of society, and Freydis was about the worst fiend among them. She caused a large number of the party to be killed, even murdering the women herself. The balance of the party returned to Greenland where Freydis fell into disgrace because of her crimes in Vinland.[2]

Such are the contents of the two Sagas that are now in the library at Copenhagen. But there are other very interesting sagas, one of which refers so prominently to this newly found country that we should become acquainted with an outline of its contents.[3] In the latter part of the tenth century, there dwelt on the western coast of Iceland a lady named Thurid, who, though married and much respected, chanced to shower so many favors on Bjorn Asbrandson, the champion of Breidavik, as to cause evil reports to be circulated, and lead people to suspect that Bjorn was the father of Thurid's son, Kjartan. These reports coming to the ears of that good dame's brother, who was prefect of that province,[4] he went to Bjorn and

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[1] Slafter: "Voyages." Vide his translation of Icelandic Sagas, pp. 43, 69, 110; also Rafn: "Antiquitates," p. xxxiv.

[2] We may mention among those who accept these sagas as historical, Prof. Vigfusson, of Oxford, Eng.; Konrad Marer, of Germany; Paul Riant, of France; J. Elliot Cabot and Edward Everett of this country. Horsford: Op. cit. p. 18.

[3] This narrative is taken from "The Eyrbyggja Saga, or early annals of that district of Iceland, lying around the promontory of Snæfells, on the western coast. It is clearly shown to have been written not later than the beginning of the thirteenth century."—Slafter, p. 79, note 91.

[4] This was Snorri Godi, a really historical personage, and a promi-

advised him to leave the country. Bjorn sailed away but his ship was never after heard from.

Thirty years afterward, one Gudleif, Gudlaugson made a trading voyage to the western coast of Ireland, but when he undertook to return to Iceland he met with north-east

Sir Francis Drake.

winds. The ship was thus driven far away to the west and south-west. At last the unfortunate sailors sighted

nent man in Icelandic history. His real name was Thorgrini Thorgrinisen, born 964, died 1031.

land. The summer was far spent, so they determined to land and at least refresh themselves. They had been on shore only a short time when a great band of natives fell upon them and made them prisoners. Then there was a council held as to their disposal. Some advised making them slaves, others were for killing them outright. While they were yet wrangling, there appeared in the distance a much larger company of natives in whose midst rode a large, dignified chieftain. As they approached the prisoners perceived that he was white, though very old, possessing long white beard and hair. Their fate was left to his decision. He addressed them in the Norse language, and in particular enquired concerning Thurid and Kjartan. He told them to enter their ships and sail away, for it was not in accordance with the laws of the natives to give their prisoners freedom. He consigned to Gudleif's care a ring for Thurid and a sword for Kjartan, advising none of his friends, should they suspect who he was, to attempt to find him, as his age was so advanced that he might expect death at any hour. Of course this could have been none other than Bjorn, the champion of Breidavik.

Now a word as to the position of the country visited by Gudlaugson. If we should draw two lines — one from the western coast of Ireland toward the south-west, and another from the western coast of Iceland toward the south-west, marking the probable routes along which Bjorn and Gudleif had respectively sailed in going to this country, these two lines would intersect on the southern coast of our country near the shores of Georgia or Carolina. So we are to conclude that it is somewhere in these regions that Bjorn was found, and that there he was left to die among the natives. This region seems to have been known to these early people, as well as to the inhabitants

of Ireland, as "White Man's Land" or "Great Ireland." Professor Rafn thinks that it was south of Chesapeake Bay, including North and South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida.[1]

Thus far we have given in a condensed form the contents of the more prominent sagas relating to westward voyages of the Northmen from Iceland and Greenland. Now it is evident to every one that the land that these explorers visited and attempted to settle could have been none other than that of North America; and, if these records be true, it is evident that the Northmen were acquainted with our shores from Newfoundland to Florida for five centuries before Christopher Columbus made his memorable voyages. As to the truth of these records, not only is it a fact that few historians are now found who dispute them, but there is considerable circumstantial and corroborative evidence to uphold the truthfulness of their contents.[2] Although various nations have sought stolen honors by claiming a knowledge of America before the time of Columbus, these records from the north deserve more than a passing notice. The voyage of Leif Erikson to "Vinland the Good" is recorded in both the Heimskringla, or history of the Norwegian Kings, the author of which was Snorre Sturleson, born in Iceland in 1178, and called the Northern Hero-

[1] Slafter: "Voyages," p. 96, note 108. Also Rafn: "Antiquitates Americannæ," p. xxxviii.

[2] Alex. Von Humboldt refers to the discovery of America by the Northmen as "undoubted." Vide "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 603. In regard to these Northmen discoveries, Horsford writes as follows: "Somewhere to the southwest of Greenland, distant at least a fortnight's sail, there were, for three hundred years after the beginning of the eleventh century, Norse colonists on the coast of the continent of America, with which colonies the home country maintained commercial intercourse." He also quotes from a letter from Nordenskjoll, as follows: "The Norsemen made numerous long voyages out from Greenland for centuries, and established colonies on the American continent." "Discovery of America by the Northmen," Boston, 1888, pp. 17-19.

dotus,[1] and in the History of Olaf Tryggvason. The former fixes the date by stating that it was the same year that Christianity was introduced into Iceland, and that was A. D. 1000. This was fourteen years after Bjarni discovered Vinland.

The Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne introduces us to such prominent historical characters that we can not pass it by as mere fiction. Thorfinn was a wealthy Icelandic merchant "descended from an illustrious line of Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Irish, and Scottish ancestors, some of whom were kings or of royal blood." His son, Snorri, was born in Vinland and lived there until three years old. He inherited his father's Icelandic estate. A grandson of Snorri became Bishop Thoslak, and gave Iceland its first code of ecclesiastical law which is still extant. A great-grandson was raised to the episcopal dignity; another descendant was similarly honored. In our own century, we can mention, as lineal descendants of Thorfinn Karlsefne, Professor Magnussen and the great sculptor, Thorwaldsen of Copenhagen.[2]

Neither are we entirely dependent upon this one saga for our knowledge of Thorfinn and his voyage to Vinland. There is a fragment from a[3] geographical treatise, written near the end of the fourteenth century, which describes the location of these new lands as follows: "South of Greenland is Helluland; next lies Markland; thence it is not far to Vinland the Good. . . . It is related that Thorfinn Karlsefne, cut wood here to ornament his house. . . . Leif the Lucky first discovered Vinland." Then there exists another geographical fragment[4] under the title of

[1] Vide "North American Review," Vol. XLVI. p. 185.
[2] Vide "North American Review," Vol. XLVI. 1838, pp. 176, 184.
[3] Vellum Codex, No. 194.
[4] Codex, No. 115.

Gripla, written before the time of Columbus, which describes the location of Vinland in about the same words.[1]

While all these evidences are of Icelandic origin, we are not lacking corroborative evidence from other sources. Toward the close of the eleventh century, one Adam, canon of Bremen, was attracted to the court of King Sweno, of Denmark, by that monarch's reputation as a patron of letters. While there, Adam collected materials for an ecclesiastical history which he published at the close of the eleventh century. In that history, occurs the following passage: "Besides it was stated (by the king), that an island had by many been discovered in that ocean, which was called Winland, because vines grow there spontaneously, producing excellent wine; for that fruits not planted grow there of their own accord, we know, not by vague rumor, but by certain testimony of the Danes."[2]

With such testimony staring us in the face, it is useless to deny that the Northmen were aware of the existence of the American continent for a number of centuries before the time of Columbus. How frequently they made voyages across the ocean is a question open to conjecture. It is claimed that Bishop Eric Upsi, the first Bishop of Greenland, "undertook in 1121 a Christian mission to Vinland."[3] And a very recent writer claims that there are records in the Church archives at Rome, not only of this mission but also of the visit of Lady Gudrid to Rome immediately before she entered the convent that her son,

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[1] Slafter: "Voyages," p. 70 *et seq.*

[2] Translated from the Latin of Rafn: "Antiquitates Americannæ, p. 338.

[3] The Icelandic Church records substantiate this claim. Horsford, Op. cit. p. 12. Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 605.

Snorri, built in Iceland.[1] The extent of the Northmen's knowledge of the American coast-line is further indicated by the Runic inscription discovered in 1824 on one of the Woman's Islands, Baffin's Bay, at the latitude of 72° 55'. It tells us that it was placed there "on the Saturday before the day of victory,"[2] in 1135. We are further told that, "more than six hundred years before the bold expeditions of Parry and Ross, the colonists (of eastern coast of Baffin's Bay) very regularly visited Lancaster Sound and a part of Barrow's Straits for the purpose of fishing. The locality of the fishing ground is very definitely described, and Greenland priests from the Bishopric of Gardar, conducted the first voyage of discovery (1266)."[3] The last recorded voyage from Greenland to Markland (Nova Scotia), occurred in 1347.[4]

There is no doubt that the honor of being the dis-

[1] Vide Marie A. Brown: "The Icelandic Discoverers of America," London, 1887; also see article "Who Discovered America," in *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, Feb. 5, 1888.

[2] The 21st of April. This was a heathen festival in ancient Scandinavia, which, at their conversion to Christianity, was changed into a Christian festival. Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 605, note.

[3] Humboldt, Op. cit.

[4] In passing, a word about the decline of Greenland may interest our readers. Greenland retained communication with Scandinavia for four centuries, and a flourishing commerce existed between these countries. But Queen Margaret (1353-1412, vide Vol. III. p. 404) forbade intercourse with Greenland except upon royal permission. This was a death-blow to that island, which early in the fifteenth century became lost to Europe. It was re-discovered in 1721 by Hans Egede; vide Slafter: "Voyages," p. xxxv. By referring to This Series, Vol. III. p. 404 *et seq.*, it will be seen that Sweden was, for the next two centuries, busied freeing herself from the Danish yoke, and in fighting her wars in Germany, Poland, and Russia, and that Norway and Denmark were united under one sovereign who became more and more involved in the troubles of Europe. It can scarcely be assuming too much, then, to believe that these restless Northmen had warlike employment enough for their subjects to keep them at home, and thus would expeditions to Greenland and Vinland become less and less frequent, and, finally, a knowledge of the way thither be forgotten.

coverers of the American continent has led other nations to put forth false claims. But we detect nothing of that kind in regard to the claims of the Northmen. Their sagas are beautifully and simply written and force the impress of their truth upon the mind. If it be asked why a knowledge of these early voyages has been so long kept from the pages of our histories, we must say with Professor Rafn that it is the fault of the historians themselves. These manuscripts have existed ever since the close of the fourteenth century. Their contents formed the folk-lore of Iceland in her most flourishing days, and the savants of Copenhagen have ever since known of Vinland the Good.

Adam of Bremen knew of Vinland, and told the world about the new country. Malte-Brun claims that "to entertain a doubt of the truth of accounts so simple and probable would be an excess of scepticism."[1] And now we are informed that the records have been for seven centuries buried in the archives at Rome. Whether it has been the policy of writers among Romance nations to disregard these records, whether it has been the policy of the authorities at Rome to bury the records of every enterprise not conducted by Christians,[2] it is not in our province to state. They are generally accepted as reliable records, and the Northmen are at last receiving the honors so long illegally borne by southern navigators.[3]

[1] Vide "North American Review," Vol. XLVI. p. 167 and references. Also Malte-Brun: "Universal Geography," Philadelphia, Vol. III. p. 132

[2] The Northmen were still pagans when their first voyages were made, and the above is the opinion, positively and rather spitefully expressed, of Miss Marie A. Brown. Op. cit.

[3] As stated, many nations have claimed the honor of discovering America, and to our surprise considerable can be said in favor of some. For instance, vide Vining: "An Inglorious Columbus," New York, 1885, for the claims of the Buddhist priests. Bowen: "America Dis-

We will now turn our attention once more to Southern Europe. While the Northmen were busy with their northern and western voyages, and with their settlements in England, Normandy, and Russia, the Mongols were overrunning the Mohammedan cities of Asia and interfering with their commerce. Pisa, Genoa, and Venice now assumed control of the trade routes throughout Mediterranean regions. Traders followed the crusaders to the East, and these armies of crusaders, themselves, in marching across Europe, made it possible for merchants to follow. As the Moors, however, held both shores of the Straits of Gibralter, it was dangerous for merchantmen to attempt to carry their wares to the northern shores of Europe by water.

When Venice gained the ascendency and controlled the trade of the Levant, her fleets were dispatched, necessarily in large companies, one to the Black Sea, one to Cyprus and Egypt, one to Greece, and the all-important "Flanders Fleet" to Bruges. Each of the latter expeditions occupied a year or more. As soon as the Flanders fleet reached the Downs, the ships separated and spent the year in visiting the ports of Britain, Normandy, Flanders, and Holland, exchanging eastern wares for western produce. In the North, the Hanseatic League was organized probably in the twelfth century.[1]

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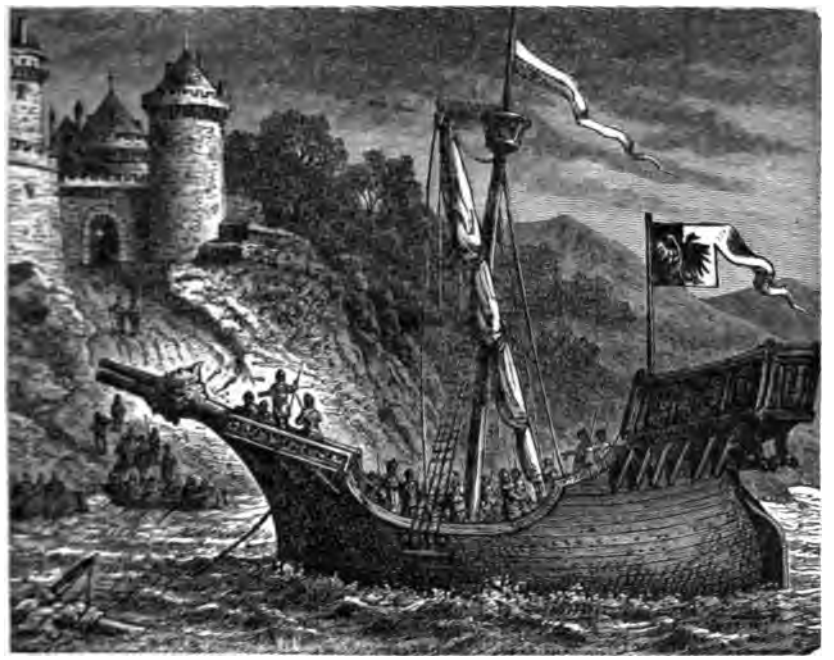
covered by the Welsh," Philadelphia, 1876; and Humboldt: "Cosmos," for the claims of the Irish. In fact the oldest sagas relating to America speak of the claims of the Irish. Ewbank, in "Historical Magazine," August, 1867, concludes that there is enough evidence in ancient records "from which to infer that an active European navigation in the north seas was carried on in the fourth and succeeding centuries, equalling that of the Scandinavian rovers" of later times. But in general, the claims of these other various people do not rest on any good historical ground. Future discoveries may however give them greater value.

[1] For the dispute about the date of the organization of the Hanseatic League, vide Taylor: "Factory System," p. 208, note.

The origin of this great commercial league may probably be traced to the uncertainty of protection from the existing governments. Among the petty, quarreling princes who tried to rule Europe at this time, there was little safety for any trader who carried wares worth seizing. The Hanse League was one of those organizations of cities for the protection of commerce, that were so com-



Hanseatic Ship.

mon at that time. It finally came to embrace "eighty of the most considerable places" in Northern Europe. Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzig were the leading towns. In foreign parts, they had four principal factories, one each at London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novgorod.[1]

Now this organization was not a club of merchants, such as we would now expect to find, but it was a strongly

[1] Taylor, Op. cit. p. 208.

organized political and commercial body. Lubeck was its capital, and presided over all the discussions of the League. It became powerful enough to keep its standing army, and wage wars to enlarge or protect its influence. Its managers, especially in its foreign stations, were subject to the strictest discipline. Marriage was forbidden them, and absolute secrecy as to the workings of the League was enjoined. Upon the decline of the Hanse League, the Netherlands rose to a commanding place among the commercial nations of the world.

Cortez.

During all this time, however, there appeared to be no particular advance in discoveries. But there was a decided advance in the science of navigation, the art of ship-building, and the invention and improvement of nautical instruments. Their ship yards were now able to turn out such ships as the Bucentaur, in which the Doge of Venice went out annually with great pomp and rejoicing to espouse again the Adriatic,[1] and in these stronger made vessels, seamen dared venture further from the land. By construction and improvement in the use of sails, greater speed could be attained than ever before. But above all in usefulness was the discovery of the magnetic needle and the invention of the mariner's com-

[1] It was the custom in Venice for the Doge to enter this vessel once a year, and cause it to be rowed out into the Adriatic Sea, and then to cast a ring into the sea with these words, "We wed thee with this ring in sign of a real and perpetual dominion."—Lindsay: "Merchant Shipping," Vol I. p. 475.

pass, whereby the sailor could watch his course in the darkest night and in the severest storm. There was now no danger of becoming hopelessly lost, though still there seems to have been many superstitious fears regarding the unknown borders of the ocean world. But there had already begun to dawn upon the world a new era. Science and education took a great leap in advance. Such men as Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, and Vicenzius Beauvais had lived; and they had dared to think for themselves in spite of the anathemas of Church.[1] They dared to use every source for obtaining information, whether it were to learn of science from the Arab unbelievers, or to search for truth side by side with the older Greek philosophers. They dared further to give the results of their investigations and speculations to the superstitious world.

As a consequence, geographers now began to study the speculations of the Alexandrian, Greek, and Latin philosophers of centuries before, and reason upon the shape of the earth. They dared follow Pythagoras and Aristotle in believing the earth to be a sphere. They dared follow infidels into the field of astronomy, and study the movements of the heavenly bodies. They dared busy themselves in the occult science of chemistry, and thus was gunpowder discovered, that completely revolutionized military weapons and the science of war. The printing-press appeared. Such travelers as the Polos and Mandeville had demonstrated that there were many powerful nations in the East, and the storied wealth of these Oriental countries excited the cupidity of all. Freedom of thought was springing up among European people. Formerly it had been considered impious to have any

[1] Roger Bacon was by two popes imprisoned on the accusation of practising magic. Vide Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 615.

dealings with infidels,[1] now Europeans sought some method whereby to secure a share of the gold and pearls and precious stones, out of which the Khans of Cathay are said to have built their idol temples.[2] Then, too, as wealth and culture, with their accompanying demands for rich food and fine clothing, spread toward the north, there was increased demand for spices, silks, pearls, gems, and everything of this kind.

Pizarro

The problem that now troubled the Christian nations was how to reach these lands—Cathay, Arabia, Ethiopia, India, China, Chipangu. Unbelievers jealously

[1] Taylor: "Factory System," p. 206.

[2] For a description of the travels and discoveries of Marco Polo, vide Yule: "Travels of Marco Polo," London, 1871.

guarded the gates to these wealth producing regions, and levied a tax upon all the luxuries that flowed along these channels of commerce. Travelers to these regions, like Polo, were detained for many years, and only with difficulty brought back anything with them. In this dilemma, it is not singular that commerce turned anew to the sea. When the Moors were driven from the Straits of Gibraltar, and even before that, Prince Henry the Navigator, of Portugal, conceived the idea of reaching Cathay (China) by sailing around the coast of Africa and procuring thus, first hand, the spices of Arabia and the jewels of India. Thus was instituted a season of re-discovery, for, as we have seen, the Phœnicians had, eight centuries before, sailed from the mouth of the Nile to Arabia; and Asiatic waters have ever since been known to their successors, the Arabs.

We are down to a most interesting time in the world's history. In 1435, Christopher Columbus was born in the city of Genoa.[1] He enjoyed the benefits of a most liberal education for his times. Of course, Latin was the all-essential language, and he was early taught to read it fluently. At the University of Pavia, he studied geometry, geography, astronomy, and navigation; and he was proficient in drawing and designing. Nourished in such a maritime center, it is not strange that we find such an enterprising spirit as that of Columbus anxious to be upon the water. He was therefore connected with the navy of John of Anjou in his unsuccessful attempt to seize the throne of Naples, an ancient inheritance of the Angevins.[2]

As Prince Henry of Portugal was by all odds the

[1] Vide Washington Irving: "Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus," New York, 1867, Vol. I. p 20.

[2] Vide This Series, Vol. III.

most enterprising patron of discovery at this time, we are not surprised to learn that Columbus soon found his way to Lisbon. There he married the daughter of a Portugese navigator, and thus became acquainted with the plans of Portugese sailors. Sometimes he made voyages to the coasts of Africa or the islands in African seas, but the most of his time was spent in making charts. In this way, he could prosecute the study for which he had the

Raleigh.

greatest liking and which was to prepare him for his later success in discovery.[1] This profession, besides, introduced him to the most enterprising and learned men of the Mediterranean regions.

He accepted the theory that the earth was round; and

[1] Irving, Op. cit. p. 42.

by an acquaintance with the travels of Polo, he perceived how little a portion of the earth was known to Europeans. Then the thought that the riches of Cathay (China), the home of the great Khan, whom Polo visited, and whose towers were plated with gold and silver,[1] could be reached by sailing west came into his mind.[2] Now that there were lands way out in the western ocean, was no new idea among the people of Southern Europe. Here were the "Isles of the Blest," and here was the Atlantis of Plato, and so the Hesperides had ever been striving to entice to their realm each rising Hercules in search of the golden apples[3] of Juno. So, likewise, the happy hunting grounds of the American Indians were situated far to the west. It seems that mankind has ever striven to follow the sun to its bed as it nightly sinks from sight beneath the ever receding horizon.

Columbus began to treasure up every rumor or bit of information that tended to corroborate his theory. A stray bit of wood that drifted to Madeira or the Azores was unlike anything growing in known lands. It came from the west. Then the so-called idle tales of mariners driven out at sea sighting land in the western ocean were

[1] Yule: "Marco Polo," Vol. II. p. 73.

[2] Here we must distinguish between the discovery of Columbus and that of the Norsemen. As early as 1474, he had reached the conclusion that by sailing west he could reach India, and so expressed himself in a letter to Dr. Paulo Toscanelli, of Florence. As we shall see, three years later he visited Iceland. But the knowledge that Columbus had arrived at was scientific. The knowledge of western lands among the Norsemen was accidental. They sailed the seas in search of lands to plunder; and thus discovered Vinland. The knowledge Columbus undoubtedly gained in Iceland must have greatly strengthened his previously formed theory.

[3] The eleventh labor, which Eurysthenes imposed upon Hercules, was to visit the Hesperides or "western maidens," and gather the golden apples of Juno.

of value to him.[1] But more significant to us than any of these enticing allurements is the statement of Christopher Columbus, in a work on "the Five Habitable Zones of the Earth," that, in 1477, he visited Iceland.[2] It does not detract anything from the great navigator's genius to suppose that there he learned of the voyages of the Northmen to Vinland, but it does detract from his thoroughness as a student to suppose that he could thus visit the very hot-bed

Cabot.

of northern maritime enterprise without enquiring into the knowledge which these people possessed of the western ocean. He drew his information from every possible source. He may even have seen the records of these voy-

[1] These might well have been founded on facts; as witness the discovery of the coast of Brazil by Cabral in 1500.

[2] Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 611.

ages that are said to be filed away in the libraries at Rome.

Finally (1481), there came to the throne of Portugal a monarch (King John), who was determined to prosecute still further the plans of his illustrious grand-uncle, Prince Henry the Navigator. John encouraged men of science and learning to gather around his court. He became impatient at the slowness with which his seamen crept down the western coast of Africa, so he ordered his ablest astronomers and geographers to hold a council[1] for the discussion of the best methods of advancing discovery. The result of this conference "was the application of the astrolabe to navigation, enabling the seaman, by the altitude of the sun, to ascertain his distance from the equator."[2] Now with the compass to direct his course, and the astrolabe to tell his distance from the equator, the seaman banished much of his fear of the trackless ocean. No matter how long the storm, as soon as the sun did appear, he could at least find his way to land. It was at such a time that Columbus brought his plans of western discovery to maturity. He thought it useless to attempt such a voyage without royal authority. He laid his plans before King John, but the latter's counsellors, after trying to rob Columbus of his cherished desire of being the first to make this voyage by sending a ship to give the route a trial, ridiculed the idea of there being antipodes. Thereupon Columbus left Lisbon in disgust, and took his journey into Spain.

Columbus is first[3] noticed in Spain in conference with the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, and Medina Celi, who in

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[1] These were his two physicians, Roderigo and Joseph the Jew, and Martin Behem.—Irving: "Columbus," Vol. I. p. 65. [2] Ibid.

[3] In 1485, vide Irving's "Columbus," Vol. I. p. 75, note.

wealth and power ranked next to royalty itself. Though he met with encouragement from them, they finally refused aid through fear of the jealous displeasure of their sovereigns in case of its success. He, however, bore a letter from the latter to Queen Isabella, recommending the voyage. Columbus now became a follower of the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, who were too busy with their war against the Moors to have time to consider his petition or give him an audience. But here Columbus formed valuable acquaintances, and to whomsoever he demonstrated his plans and theories, he carried conviction. Six years were consumed in vain endeavors to gain a decision from these sovereigns. Then, disgusted and discouraged, Columbus turned from the court determined to seek aid elsewhere. Then it was that he appeared at the gate of the Convent of Santa Maria de Rabida, and asked food and shelter for his child.

From that time, the tide seemed to turn in his favor. He was again summoned to the Spanish Court; and, at sunrise, on the 3d of August, 1492, we find him in command of three small vessels sailing out of the port of Palos in search of a new route to India. He took the course from Palos to the Canaries. Thence he sailed toward the west. It mattered not if the needle of the compass did vary, it mattered not if his crew did become descouraged and mutinous, he kept toward the west. Over the "grassy sea" they sped and over such an expanse of water that the most daring seamen gave up hope of ever returning. Ten long weeks passed since they left the port of Palos. But at last the signs of land became more and more encouraging. The songs of the warblers resounded from their mastheads and cheered them on their way. On Friday morning, October 12th, 1492, amid the

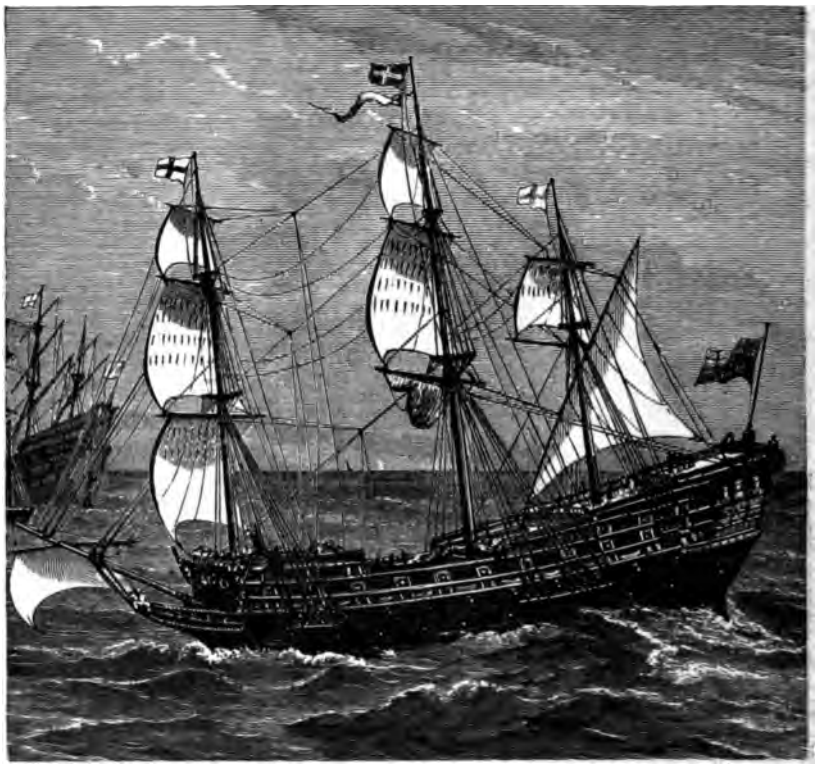
prayers and rejoicings of both admiral and crew, the small party of Europeans landed on the island of Guanahani, one of the Bahama Islands, and dedicated a new world to Spanish rule and to Christianity.

Columbus made three other voyages to the New World, in the third (1498), only, touching the continent. But he died in the belief that it was only a new route to

Frobisher

Cathay that he had found for the Spanish monarch. The news of his first voyage spread rapidly over Europe. Henry VII. of England immediately authorized John and Sebastian Cabot to discover lands in the western ocean. They touched the eastern coast of our country (1497), even before Columbus had found the mainland. The Spaniards followed the voyages of Columbus with further expeditions of discovery and colonization. This was to

them Cathay, the land of gold and jewels, where might be found the fountain of everlasting youth. They sought these everywhere. In the last year of the fifteenth century, an expedition sailed from Spain bearing among its number a Florentine merchant and geographer, by name Amerigo Vespucci. He made other voyages to the New World, all of which he described in letters written at the time. Some



The Great Harry.

of these letters passed into print, and the name of that Florentine merchant has ever since clung to our country.

Now every American is so familiar with these early voyages of discovery and colonization, that an extended account of them would be out of place in a work of this

character. We can refer to only a few of the more important voyages that gave to Europeans a knowledge of the world almost as it exists to-day. In 1497, Vasco da Gama, sailing under the auspices of the King of Portugal, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and found the nearest way by water from Europe to India. Portugal then for a time commanded the trade of the Orient.

The Spaniards pushed their discoveries in the west. Brazil, Yucatan, Florida, the Pacific Ocean, Mexico, and Peru were all discovered and taken possession of in less than two score years from the time that Columbus first saw the American shores. The Portugese did not wait long before they also sent an expedition to this continent under the command of Cortereal, but their object seems to have been to capture natives to be sold in the Spanish markets as slaves. It proved to be an unfortunate venture and the Portugese never gained a lasting footing on the northern part of the continent.[1]

The French early entered the field of western discovery. The names of Verrazzano,[2] Cartier, Roberval and Champlain established the French claim to American territory, although the Cabots had at an earlier day discovered these regions for England. This was in the vicinity of the St. Lawrence. These explorers were at once followed by fishing vessels. Three years from the date of the first French voyage, there were observed in the haven of St. Johns, Newfoundland, eleven Norman sails, and one Breton, engaged in the fisheries there. The expeditions of Ponce de Leon and of Ferdinand de Soto (Spaniards),

[1] Vide Bancroft: "History of the United States," Boston, 1854, Vol. I. p. 14.

[2] Edward Everett Hale, in his "History of the United States," New York, 1887, most emphatically doubts the voyage of Verrazzano to America. Most authorities mention it as undoubted.

laid the whole southern part of our country[1] open to Spanish colonization. But the French Huguenots forestalled them in establishing a settlement on the coast of Florida. The religious zeal, jealousy, or general bloodthirstiness of the Spaniards led them to murder these colonists and occupy the location, founding there the first permanent settlement of Europeans on the American continent. They called it St. Augustine.

An Iron Ship.

Early in the sixteenth century Magellan started out on his memorable voyage of discovery. Though he did not live to see Spain again, in less than three years, his ships returned by the way of India and the Cape of Good Hope, thus being the first to circumnavigate the globe. The expeditions of John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, though under the English flag, seem to have been little more than buccaneering adventures in which it is

[1] Vide Shipp: "De Soto and Florida," Philadelphia, 1887.

claimed that "Good Queen Bess" shared. They captured negroes in Africa, and sold them as slaves to the West Indian colonies.[1] The voyages of Frobisher and Davis

Balboa Taking Possession of the Pacific.

made the northern shores of the New World known to

[1] Low: "Maritime Discoveries," Vol. I. p. 272-3. Lindsay: "Merchant Shipping," Vol. II. p. 123 *et seq.*

Europeans. The Pacific coast had been explored by Grijalva, Alvarado, and Cabrillo in the first part of the sixteenth century; but toward the close of that century, Drake entered the Pacific and explored the coast to about 48° north latitude, thence returning to England by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. The cargo and prizes that he had captured from the Spanish netted the owners of his ship, the Golden Hind, two million dollars of our money.[1] For his success and gallantry, Queen Elizabeth visited his ship, when he reached London, and conferred upon him the order of knighthood. The close of the sixteenth century ushers in the period of colonization in what is now the greatest nation of this New World. We will learn of its history in another chapter.

From the limited horizon of ancient Chaldea, we have watched the growth of discovery until it has embraced the world. We must not, however, conclude that civilization, even in the most ancient times, was confined to any one, limited spot. Though we have but here and there a ray of historical light to guide us in a knowledge of distant times, we see that every Chaldea has had its Elam; every Egypt, its contemporary Hittites; every Ilios, its neighboring Hellas; every Rome, its rival Persia. As every rising nation has had to discover for itself much of the world that is really old in culture, so Japan, in our own day, is learning that there are many civilized peoples outside of its own sea-girt isles; so is England discovering in India many signs of a culture more ancient than its own.

But we can safely say that the number of contempo-

[1] The Portugese claim that as early as 1520, when Magellan was just finding his way into the Pacific, some of their ships, sailing east from Molucca, crossed the Pacific and struck the coast of California. Vide Winsor: "Narrative and Critical History of America," Boston, Vol. III. p. 68, note 2.

rary, cultivated nations has been constantly on the increase, since history began. As soon as one continent became occupied, a limitless population spread into another. When the Old World became crowded, the glittering gold and sparkling jewels of unknown lands formed an enticing bow of promise whose widening span lured the more venturesome spirits onward until it surrounded the globe. And now mankind settles to rest again, as it did eight centuries ago, as firm as ever in the belief that there are now no more worlds to find. The Age of Discovery reached its zenith when the happy Columbus entered the harbor of Palos with tidings of a New World.

Miles Standish Relics.

CHAPTER II.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION—Review—English History, Sixteenth Century—French History—Elizabeth's Reign—The Stuart Dynasty—The Protectorate—The Age of Louis XIV.—Rise of Sweden—Of Russia—Decline of Spain—The Thirty Years' War—Wallenstein—Wars of the Spanish Succession—Charles XII. of Sweden—The Bourbon Family Compact—England in the Seventeenth Century—Wars of the Austrian Succession—Rise of Prussia—The Seven Years' War—Frederick the Great—Joseph II. of Austria—Causes Leading to the French Revolution—The Grievances of the People—Louis XVI.—The Reign of Terror—Career of Napoleon Bonaparte—The Russian Campaign—European History Since the Abdication of Napoleon—The Revolutionary Struggles in Europe—The Franco-Prussian War—TheRusso-Turkish War—General Conclusion.

IN a general way, the medieval period of European history is said to have terminated with the discovery of America, the invention of printing, and the Protestant Reformation under Luther. But we have taken exception to this view, regarding these important movements as the results of advancing intelligence in general. We can, however, willingly admit that, beginning with the sixteenth century, the intellectual development of Europe had reached such a stage of growth that advance in many directions was exceedingly rapid.

PETER THE GREAT AFTER THE BATTLE OF PULTOWA

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

We desire in this chapter to obtain a general view of political movements in Europe during the last four centuries, drawing from them, of course, such results as are of especial value for our general inquiry, the rise and progress

Europe of the Fifteenth Century.

of our present state of culture. The era commences with the subserviency of the masses of the people to privileged classes. The divine rights of kings and the general idea that lords and knights of various degrees were in every

way superior to the general mass of the people, were the prevailing ideas of Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century.

Now the present day is not inaptly called the reign of the common people. We have shown that in a former stage of culture the tendency of advancing civilization was to bring to the front individuals and individual rights. That law still holds good, with the further idea now finding expression that one individual's rights were not different from, or superior to another's. Along that line of thought, the conflict was waged for some centuries, and, unfortunately, is not yet finally settled. We will, however, see running through European history of the last few centuries the rising importance of the common people.

Turning now more particularly to Europe, we resume the historical thread dropped in a former volume.[1] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Louis XII. occupied the throne of France. He had inherited the Italian wars of Charles VIII. with Spain. Each king claimed authority over a number of Italian cities, which led to constant wars for their possession. While this exhausted the resources of both France and Spain, it was still more ruinous to the unfortunate cities themselves. The deaths in succession of Henry VII. of England, Louis XII. of France, and Ferdinand I. of Spain gave the European world three great rulers who may be appropriately called the *tres magi* of European history during the first half of the sixteenth century.[2] These were, respectively, Henry VIII., Francis I., and Charles I. The

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[1] Vide Vol. III. ch. v.

[2] Lord Bacon gave this title to three other rulers, viz.: Henry VII., Louis XI., and Ferdinand the Catholic. Vide Patton: "Mediæval History," p. 76.

Hapsburg princes had by this time come to regard the Imperial crown as their inheritance. Charles I., being a Hapsburg, soon succeeded to the Imperial throne (as Charles V.) Spain was now the controlling power of Europe, although Francis I. invaded her possessions as often as he could find the least excuse for so doing. As a

Francis I.

result of one of his invasions of Italy, he spent a year as a royal captive at Madrid.

When Charles V. abdicated his throne, he gave the Imperial crown to his brother, Ferdinand I., the Spanish crown to his son, Philip II. Although the Spanish kingdom and the empire were thus divided, Spain continued,

under Philip II., to hold the ascendency over other European powers. The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed many other changes among the great rulers of Europe. Henry II. ruled the French for thirteen years when the sovereign power passed into the hands of the infamous Catherine de Medici, wife of Henry, who by intrigue had been named as regent for the minor heirs. Her sons, Francis II. and Charles IX. were crowned in succession but speedily removed by the connivance of their mother who is also regarded as the instigator of that horrible butchery of Protestants in Paris and throughout France, known as the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Her third son, Henry III., ruled for fifteen years, when he was succeeded by Henry of Navarre, under the title of Henry IV., who by the celebrated Edict of Nantes proclaimed religious freedom to all his subjects (1598).

Thus much by way of review.[1] Turning to England we find before us a most interesting age. The English throne was occupied in rapid succession by the three children of Henry VIII.—Edward VI., son of Jane Seymour; Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon and wife of Philip II. of Spain; and, finally, Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, who wore the crown into the next century. Elizabeth's reign was remarkable for its length, for almost universal peace and prosperity throughout her possessions, and for the great number of eminent men whom England produced during this period. Shakespeare, Bacon, Spenser, Ben. Jonson, Knox, Drake, Raleigh, and others, by their literary genius, their enterprise, and their advanced ideas, won for her reign the appropriate title of "Elizabethan Age."

Now Elizabeth was by no means a perfect sovereign.

[1] Vide This Series, Vol. III. p. 390 *et seq.* and 423.

She was, on the other hand, weak and injudicious in many respects. As far as personal character was concerned, she certainly was not in advance of her times, though history records no court scandals. Exceedingly avaricious, she did not hesitate to bestow honors upon Hawkins and Drake (the most notorious freebooters of the age) for a share in their spoils, reaped from the sale of unlawful prizes, and the gains from cargoes of negroes, captured in Africa and sold in the West Indies contrary to existing treaties with Spain.[1] Partially as a result of a long series of trespasses upon treaty rights, and of buccaneering against Spanish commerce, at the close of Elizabeth's reign, Philip II. fitted out the greatest fleet the world had ever seen for the conquest of England. This was the great Spanish Armada. A kindly storm, however, by wrecking the armament, saved the trembling queen and her frightened subjects from an invasion that would probably have proved disastrous to the British. The Spanish fleet was almost annihilated (1588).

Nor was Elizabeth free from the fears and jealousies of many a person of meaner station. Ruled by these baser passions, we find the "Virgin Queen" treating her kinswoman, Mary Queen of Scots, in that cruel and illegal manner which has forever tarnished her name. Jealous of the latter's beauty, and fearful of her title to the English throne, Elizabeth kept her in unlawful confinement for a long period of years, and finally sent her to the block. The empty accusations of conspiracy against the sovereign's life and opposition to reform were the only excuses that could be advanced to cover the act.[2] Still Queen Elizabeth was unusually successful in holding popu-

[1] Lindsay: "History of Merchant Shipping," Vol. II. p. 128 *et seq.*
[2] Vide Knight: "Pictorial History of England," Vol. II. p. 539 *et seq.*

lar favor, and usually found, among her tools and favorites, a scape-goat for her misdeeds or mistakes.

Now we are not concerned in writing a full and exact history of the succession of the various princes to the different European thrones. It is sufficient to state that the century closed with the Hapsburgs still in possession of the

Elizabeth,

Imperial (Germanic-Roman) throne. But the supremacy of Spain in European affairs was giving way before the rising power of France. We must, however, note the change in favor of toleration which was at that time spreading over Europe. The Northern German states were the cen-

ter of religious agitation, and Charles V. had been so occupied with his wars with France that he had not been able to enforce the decrees of his own diets. Emperor Maximillian II., who succeeded Ferdinand I., was the "first European sovereign to adopt toleration, not from policy but from principle."[1] The English had cast off allegiance to the pope, and Elizabeth was on the whole extremely tolerant, although English Reformers were from the first clamorous for the blood of Mary Queen of Scots, because she was a Catholic. The Edict of Nantes promised the French religious freedom. Reform had triumphed in Scotland, Poland, and Sweden.[2] This was the dawn of better times for Europe; though, as the result of dissensions arising among the reformers themselves, the following century witnessed much cruel fighting among the various religious factions. Each sect, as a general thing, submitted itself to the protection of a political ruler who had some personal aim in espousing the cause of religion; and thus "religion was made subordinate to politics."[3]

Soon after the seventeenth century opens upon Europe, Queen Elizabeth was succeeded by James VI. of Scotland, son of Mary Queen of Scots, who, as James I., introduced the Stuart kings to England (1603). The Britons were not well pleased with their foreign king and his Scotch courtiers, but were somewhat appeased by the cessation of the border warfare between the two kingdoms, for England and Scotland were henceforth united. The Catholic element in the kingdom, however, was far from being satisfied with the Stuart king, because James had renounced

[1] Labberton: "Historical Atlas and General History," New York, 1857, p. 124. This subject will be treated more extensively in a subsequent chapter.

[2] Gregory: "Handbook of History," p. 33.

[3] Ibid.

the faith of his mother and adopted the established religion. This course of action led to the "gunpowder plot," in which conspirators, under the lead of one Guy Fawkes, planned to blow up the Protestant king and his entire parliament. Fortunately a timely warning led to the arrest and execution of the conspirators instead of their intended victims.[1]

Subsequently, James gained the ill-will of his Protestant subjects by justly declaring that, whereas this small band of conspirators were alone cognizant of this plot, only the guilty should be punished. The fact is, ideas of toleration were so narrowed by the spirit of the times that the reformers had at least hoped for an extensive persecution of the Catholics. In this, the English king seems to have been in advance of his age. But there is another side to his character. For, while he could have materially hindered Queen Elizabeth in her persecution and criminal slaughter of his mother, Mary, he contented himself with too tardy and idle remonstrances. And later, by withholding his aid from his son-in-law, he caused the ruin of Frederick V., elector of the Palatinate,[2] the first leader of the Protestant cause in the Thirty Years' War.[3] Also on mere accusation of having been connected with a conspiracy to dethrone the king, that eminent navigator, Sir Walter Raleigh, was confined to the Tower for thirteen years, and then ordered to the block. Thus do we gain a true picture of a king who is further described as a pedant and a believer in the "divine right of kings."[4]

When his son, Charles I., came to the throne, as

[1] A good account of this conspiracy is contained in Hume: "History of England," Vol. IV. pp. 400-405.

[2] The Palatinate was a small territory along the Rhine. Vide Vol III. p. 343. [3] See below.

[4] Vide Hume, op. cit. p. 494.

might be expected, he entertained still more strongly these same ideas. In trying to enforce them, the king found himself involved in a dispute with Parliament which finally ended in his deposition and execution. In attempting to assert his supposed rights, Charles tried browbeating, arresting, and imprisoning members of Parliament. Then Parliament was dismissed, the king trying for eleven

Mary Stuart.

years to rule without its aid. Money, however, must be raised: and, among other schemes to procure it, was his plan for raising "ship money," really a tax for the support of the navy. This brought into prominence the celebrated patriot, John Hampden, who resisted the collection even in the courts, though, of course, he was defeated.[1]

[1] On this subject see Knight: "Pictorial England," Vol. III. p. 197 *et seq.*

The immediate cause of the outbreak against Charles was a rebellion of his Scottish subjects, because the king had tried to enforce a new liturgy in their churches. To put down this rebellion, money was necessary. To raise

Execution of Charles I.

money, Parliament must assemble. Another Parliament was therefore called, but shortly dissolved. Another call was soon issued and the celebrated "Long Parliament" (so called from the length of its session) began its work.

Instead of turning its attention to a settlement of the Scottish difficulty, this Parliament began, at once, to adopt measures for resisting the tyranny of the king. Almost the first act was the arrest, trial, conviction, and execution of his chief adviser, Stafford, whom Charles ignominiously deserted to his fate.[1]

Though the king made many promises to Parliament, he did not hesitate to break them whenever he saw fit. Still Parliament removed one barrier after another that stood in its way. At length, the crisis arrived. Parliament submitted to the king nineteen propositions which tended to greatly increase its power. These were of course rejected; and Parliament forthwith appointed a "Committee of Public Safety," raised an army, and civil war began. "Charles unfurled the royal standard at Nottingham." His followers were called "cavaliers," and the rebellious subjects "roundheads."

The parliamentary army was victorious at Marston Moor and at Naseby, Oliver Cromwell having greatly distinguished himself. Finally, Charles surrendered to the Scotch, who sold him to Parliament, by which latter authority he was kept in confinement until a dispute between the Puritan and independent factions was settled by placing the latter into power. The Independents controlled the army, with Oliver Cromwell as general. They carried matters with a high hand; obtained possession of the king; utterly defeated the Scots at Preston Pans; and, finally, tried, condemned, and executed the king himself—an act that has since been condemned by all mankind (1649).[2]

[1] For this trial, see Macaulay: "History of England," Vol. I. p. 98.

[2] Vide Labberton: "General History," p. 131. This verdict is just, though this conflict and its results eventuated in great good for the cause of constitutional liberty.

For the sixteen years following, England was ruled by Oliver Cromwell, who exercised all the powers of a king, even to the appointment of his son as his successor, though he would accept no other title than that of Lord Protector. This period in English history is, therefore, called the Protectorate. The House of Peers was abolished and the Commons constituted the only popular assembly.

Charles I.

Cromwell's government was vigorous both at home and abroad, and is an honorable epoch in English history. But Richard Cromwell was a failure as a ruler; and, after a few month's trial, withdrew from public life. Charles II., the profligate son of Charles I., though he had previously made several futile attempts to seize the throne, was called from his wanderings to become King of England, though made entirely dependent upon Parliament for his revenue.

In the reign of Charles II., there occurred in London, the "great plague" and the "great fire."[1] The superstitious regarded these as visitations of Divine wrath because of the shameful profligacy of the king.[2] Aided by the Cabal,[3] "a most tyrannical and unscrupulous agent of royal prerogative," the king was able to extort money from Parliament for purposes of defense, only to waste it in riotous living, while he was usually a pensioner of the French king. England sank to so low an ebb that the war vessels of Holland, with whom a war arose, even entered the Thames and threatened the British capital. Still it is claimed that this was a season fruitful in reforms and that the very profligacy and wantonness of the king left Parliament free to legislate for the people.[4]

Upon the death of Charles, Protestant England was thrown into a state of fear and anxiety by the accession of Catholic James II. His declaration of toleration (a just measure), followed by the arrest and trial of seven bishops for not reading it from their pulpits, was a further cause for alarm. Then began that train of events which led to William of Orange, husband of James' daughter, Mary, being called to the English throne. James took refuge in France, and England thus became involved in the long-existing struggle between Holland and France. Still the reign of William has been called, all things considered, "the most successful and the most splendid recorded in the history of any country."[5]

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[1] For a description of these calamities, consult Knight: "Pictorial England," Vol. III. pp. 695-699. Macaulay: "History of England," Vol. I. p. 181. Hume: "History of England," Vol. VI. p. 50

[2] Vide Buckle: "Civilization in England," Vol. I. pp. 279-80.

[3] So called from the initial letters of the names of his cabinet, viz. Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Louderdale.

[4] Vide Buckle, Op. cit. p. 275 *et seq.* [5] Buckle, p. 290.

Such is an outline of events in England during the seventeenth century. During this period in France, we learn of the rule in succession of three statesmen who must be ranked among the few great men of all times. These were Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV. The first two were cardinals and were in succession raised to the office of prime minister of France, during the reign of Louis XIII. and the minority of Louis XIV. Mazarin was a pupil of Richelieu, and Louis XIV. a pupil of Mazarin. As long as they followed the teachings of their great master, Richelieu, France firmly held a ruling place among the powers of Europe; but when at last Louis ventured to strike out a new course of action for himself, his power began to decline.

As Richelieu cuts so important a figure in French history, we must glance at the succession of events leading to his rise in power. Louis XIII. had ascended the throne upon the death, by assassination, of his father, Henry IV. Louis was nine years old at this time, so his mother, Mary de Medici, was made regent. Under Henry IV., the great financier, Sully, had restored the credit of France and had paid a great share of the debts of the crown. But the regent mother could not firmly control the nobility who forced Sully to retire. Affairs became so turbulent that the regent assembled the great council of the people, the nobility, and the clergy, known as the States-General. Its deliberations was a scene of stormy disputes, and it was finally dissolved. This was its last meeting until the troublous times of the Revolution, nearly two hundred years later.

At this council, appeared a young priest, who soon arose to the rank of cardinal, and two years more saw him prime minister of France. This was Richelieu. He at

once gained complete control over the young king, even to the banishment of the regent mother and another son from court. He put down the nobles and made the king's power absolute throughout his kingdom, before interfering with general European affairs. The greatest internal troubles were the rebellions of the Huguenots, though they were at last forced to yield to the laws of the lands,[1]

Cardinal Mazarin.

not simply because they were Huguenots, but because they were rebels. This is evident from the fact that they were still guaranteed the protection of the existing edicts of toleration.[2] Both the king and his distinguished minister died within the same five months. Louis XIV., at the age of five years, succeeded to the throne (1643). Another cardinal and a pupil of Richelieu, Mazarin, became prime minister, and the queen mother, Anne of Austria, regent. But Mazarin had not his master's ability, and his season

[1] Russel: "History of Modern Europe," Vol. III. p. 144 *et seq.*
[2] Buckle: Vol. I. p. 416.

of power was a turbulent one. He seems to have been hated by a large share of the population. During the civil war known as the Fronde, the court was driven, not only from Paris, but Mazarin was forced to leave the kingdom. But he was recalled again when the war had been brought to a close.

When Mazarin died, Louis took the reins of government into his own hands, and ruled for fifty years with such success that the "Age of Louis Fourteenth" is sometimes called the most brilliant era in the history of France.[1] His ambition, however, led him into many wars, which will be mentioned hereafter. He erred in departing from the policy of the great statesman, Richelieu, for he revoked the "Edict of Nantes," and forbade the Huguenots to leave the kingdom. Thus was begun a cruel, religious persecution which, in spite of the care of the king to prevent it, drove a hundred thousand families into foreign countries, where they were gladly welcomed on account of their wealth and industrious habits. It was indeed a great loss to France for which no mere brilliancy of reign could atone. The century closes on that country with Louis XIV. still in the vigor of his reign.

Holland and the Spanish Netherlands were a bone of much contention among the powers of Europe during this century. The latter, though often the battle ground for the armies of France and Spain, remained at the close of the century, as at the beginning, in the possession of Spain. On the other hand, the Dutch had jealously guarded their freedom so dearly bought by William the Silent. The

[1] Gregory: p. 57. But of this same reign Buckle more justly remarks (Vol. I. p. 491 *et seq.*), that it "must be utterly condemned if it be tried even by the lowest standard of morals, of honor, or of interest." Probably the greatest blot on it is the cruel religious persecution that he sanctioned.

princes of Orange were usually the leading figures in Dutch history, though in the third quarter of the century the republican element under John De Witt dominated. The Dutch became masters of the sea, formed the great Dutch East India Company, and vied with England in commerce and colonization. This was the period of their settling our own country in the vicinity of New York and the Hudson River. At the close of the century, through two successive marriages,[1] William and his wife, Mary, succeeded to the English throne, thus uniting the fortunes of England and Holland against Louis XIV. of France.[2]

Northern and Eastern Europe began to take a more active part in international affairs during the seventeenth century than previously. The young Gustavus Adolphus ascended the throne of Sweden and, early in the century (1611), became the leader of the Protestant League. He raised his country to a height of power that she had never before enjoyed, and one winter held his court at Mayence, upon the banks of the Rhine. He added greatly to Swedish territory, but was killed in battle at the moment of his greatest victory, and while still in the prime of life. He had, however, already rescued Protestantism from an early death, and thus rendered an immortal service to civil and religious liberty. At the close of the century (1697), Sweden again flashes out before the world like a meteor, when Charles XII. arms himself against his allied enemies.

He was only fifteen years of age when Russia, Poland, and Denmark thought it an opportune time to snatch from him some of his cherished possessions. Their dream of

[1] William II. of Orange and Mary, sister of Charles II.; and their son, William III., of Orange, and Mary, daughter of James II.

[2] For the history of the struggle of Holland against the usurpation of France, see Russell: "Modern Europe," Vol. II. p. 461 *et seq.*

easy conquest was rudely broken. They found that they had challenged one of the greatest generals of the age. He did not wait their convenience, but was first in the field. He compelled the Danes to sue for peace, and defeated forty thousand Russians at Narva with a force of but nine thousand Swedish soldiers. He placed a king of his own

Charles XII.

choice upon the throne of Poland; and then he entered Russia to dethrone Peter the Great. But here his star suddenly waned, he suffered such a terrible defeat before Pultowa that he was never again able to rally an army of conquest. This brings us down to the opening of the eighteenth century.

The seventeenth century closed on Russia rising in culture and taking her place among the powers of Europe under its great sovereign, Peter the Great, who introduced many reforms and many new branches of industry. He built for himself a capital, our present St. Petersburg. Henceforth, international affairs of Europe cannot be settled without consulting the interests of this new power. Near the close of this century, the Turks invaded Hungary and for the last time laid siege to Vienna (1683). When almost upon the point of victory, John Sobieski appeared with a Polish army and drove them farther back from the borders of Germany than where they had stationed themselves for years.[1]

From her position as the foremost power of Europe, Spain witnessed a gradual decline all through the seventeenth century. Philip III. was the first ruling sovereign. He it was who drove the remnant of the Moriscoes, or descendants of the Moors, from Spain. They were given thirty days to leave the kingdom on pain of death for noncompliance. Vessels were ordered to transport them to the shores of Africa, where they bore with them five-sixths of Spanish wealth, for they were the merchants of the kingdom, peaceful and industrious.[2] Such a course as this inflicted a greater blow on Spanish prosperity than could have been wrought by an armed invasion of some hostile power (1609). Philip IV. was sixteen years old when he became king of Spain. He busied himself and drained his treasury with useless wars against France. Spain speedily became so weakened that Portugal was enabled to again assert her freedom, the powers of Europe acknowledging

[1] To give completeness to our present review, we have here briefly retouched some topics already treated in Vol. III. ch. v.

[2] Patton: "Modern History," p. 216.

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her independence (1640). Charles II. succeeded to the Spanish throne at the age of four years with his mother as regent. This whole reign was a season of disputes about the regency. The queen-regent's favorites[1] became unpopular. Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV., was called into power as prime minister. But, upon his death, the queen returned to power. Then, too, it became probable that Charles would die childless, and as he was the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, the subject of Spanish succession became of international importance. Before this question was settled it involved Europe in the convulsions of war.

Even before the death of the king, there were three claimants to the Spanish throne—The Dauphin (crown prince of France); Joseph, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; and the Emperor Leopold. The Prince of Bavaria, though named by Charles as his successor, died before the king. Then Charles named Philip of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin, as his heir. He was indeed the nearest male heir, for his grandmother was the oldest daughter of Philip III. and his mother, the oldest daughter of Philip IV., but both of these princesses, upon marrying into the royal family of France, had solemnly renounced all claims to the throne of Spain. Emperor Leopold was son of a younger daughter of Philip IV., who had not renounced her claim to the throne of her father. He was, besides, a Hapsburg. In the first year of the eighteenth century, the Spanish king died. Louis XIV. had his grandson crowned at once as Philip V., while Emperor Leopold declared his second son king, under the title of Charles III. Thus opens the "War of Spanish Succession."[2]

[1] The Jesuits, Mitard and Valenzuela. [2] On this question see Labberton: "Historical Atlas and General History," pp. 135-6.

We have thus far been learning the names and tions of the chief characters who were upon the stage European history in the seventeenth century. Let us v turn to review those great international struggles that ook the civilized world. Combining the two, we will :n have a fair idea of the political development in rope. Heretofore the wars of Europe, except the usades, were petty struggles for supremacy among the inces of some one kingdom, or at most between two tions. Now we are to view Europe in a state of tur- oil, where a number or, perhaps, all the great powers re constantly involved. The idea of a balance of power is gaining ground. It had first been advanced by Henry Navarre, but he died before he could execute his plans. simply means that the territory of Europe had become adjusted among the rising modern nations that every tablished power was interested in the succession of the inces and the plans of conquest that transpired in all the her countries.

In 1618, war finally broke out in Europe. It lasted r thirty years and is known as the "Thirty Years' War." he real cause of this war was of a religious nature. The rotestants of the Empire were fearful of intolerance on ie part of a promised succession of emperors. There ad already been found two strong parties in the empire —the Protestant Union, headed by Frederick V., Elector Palatine and son-in-law of James I. of England; and the Catholic League, headed by Maximillian, Duke of Bavaria.

Emperor Matthias was childless, and was likely to be succeeded by his cousin Ferdinand, a strong Catholic. Indeed the Emperor had already secured for Ferdinand the crowns of Bohemia and of Hungary. The Bohemians

however deposed him and called Frederick V. to their throne. In the mean time, Ferdinand had become emperor as Ferdinand II., and called upon Maximillian and the Catholic League to champion his cause in Bohemia. Then followed four years of war known as the Bohemian-Palatine period. Frederick, looking in vain for aid from England, was defeated in nearly every battle, and finally was driven from his hereditary possessions in the Palatine. The most distinguished general of this period was Tilly who led the troops of Maximillian.[1]

New leaders of the Protestant cause arose in what was called the circle of Lower Saxony. These states chose as their leader Christian IV. of Denmark, who forthwith warned the Emperor against quartering troops upon the princes of this circle. Ferdinand continued the practice as well as took occasion to increase his forces. Thus began the Danish period of the Thirty Years' War (1625) Count Ernest of Mansfield entered into the war, but in trying to carry it into Austrian territory was utterly defeated and died. The Danish king marched to meet the imperial army under Tilly but was defeated.

The greatest military commander, unless we except Gustavus Adolphus, of this age now offered his services to the Emperor. This was Wallenstein, duke of Friedland, who raised a large army at his own expense and made war against the Protestant princes. Everything fell before him. Denmark was overrun and the king driven out upon his islands. All of Northern Germany submitted and peace was established (1629.) Now the Emperor determined to kill Protestantism, and to reduce the German princes to the condition of the nobility in other monarchies.

[1] For this period see Kohlrausch: "History of Germany," New York 1876, p. 318. *et seq*

emia felt the extreme force of his anger where many
executed, and Catholic worship was restored. So
ous was Wallenstein in carrying out the edict of resti-
on, restoring all lands that had been seized from the
rch by laymen during this Danish period, that even
Catholic princes clamored for his dismissal. He was
ast retired from command of the army.

Gustavus Adolphus.

It is said that on the same day that Wallenstein was
nissed by the Emperor, Gustavus Adolphus crossed from
den into Northern Germany to champion the Protest-
cause (1630.) Heretofore, success had been with
linand and his Catholic armies. The great statesman
nelieu, had at last become alarmed at the power of the
sburgs, and had promised material aid to the young
; of Sweden. Gustavus met Tilly at Leipsic where the

imperial army was utterly defeated. The next winte Gustavus held his court at Mayence on the Rhine, "th head of Protestant Germany."[1] Success followed the youn king everywhere and now the Protestant princes flocke to his camp. The next Fall in an engagement with Gustavus, Tilly, the imperial commander, was defeated, and in a subsequent battle he not only suffered a defeat, but received his death wound.

Wallenstein was now recalled to aid the Emperor. He came on the conditions, that he be made supreme commander, that he be allowed to raise his own troops, and that he be not subject to a second dismissal at the will of his enemies at the imperial court. The Emperor was willing to concede everything for the assistance of his greatest general. Again enormous numbers of soldiers flocked toward Wallenstein's camp, attracted by the scent of rich plunder. For it was of necessity granted that Wallenstein's army should support itself from forage gathered in the countries through which it passed.

Gustavus seized and fortified Nuremburg, and Wallenstein pitched his camp near by. But no battle was fought there. Then the Swedish king led his forces into Bavaria while Wallenstein entered Saxony. Gustavus turned about and followed the imperial army into Saxony. The armies met on the plain between Lutzen and Leipsic, and the greatest battle of the war was fought. Although Gustavus lost his life, the Swedish army was victorious and the greatest imperial general of the age was defeated. The great Protestant leader was gone, however, and Germany was at the mercy of Wallenstein. Jealousy on the part of imperial princes, and fear lest he were planning to build for himself a kingdom in the heart of Germany, led

[1] Labberton "General History," p. 129.

gain to his dismissal from the chief command, and at last o his assassination (1634).

Now France could oppress her own Huguenot subjects, ut at the same time support the Protestant princes of Germany and thus reduce the power of the Hapsburgs.[1] Still Richelieu did not engage actively in the war. He sought ather to keep the flames of war burning in order that hey might destroy the Austrian royal house. Twelve ears before the end of the war, this great statesman egan to negotiate a treaty that would benefit France. bout this time, Ferdinand III. became emperor, and a peedy settlement of affairs was looked for. But the wedish general, Torstenson, kept up the struggle with a onsiderable degree of success, although it is claimed that ow such generals as Torstenson, Banner, and Wrangel, rotestants; and Piccolomini and Merci, imperialists, were ighting for glory rather than for any particular cause.[2] The death of Richelieu and Louis XIII. postponed the proposed treaty until the Hapsburgs had tested the strength of their successors.

The Spaniards, hereditary enemies of the French, joined the imperial cause.[3] This led to renewed activity. The French general, Conde, won the great battles of Freiburg and Nordlingen, while the great Swedish generals, overran the whole of Northern Germany, and made even Vienna tremble. The Emperor was at last willing to come to some terms. Envoys from the various states assembled

[1] Though this is the usually accepted idea, Buckle shows very plainly that Richelieu, though a cardinal, did not advocate intolerance, but that the French Protestants were allowed perfect freedom of worship, denied Catholics in their midst, and that Richelieu's policy was to suppress rebellion but to confirm all articles of religious freedom allowed by existing edicts. Vide Vol. I. p. 412 *et seq.*

[2] Labberton, Op. cit. p. 130.

[3] Kohlrausch: "History of Germany," p 340 *et seq.*

at Osnaburg, and, after five years of wrangling, Germany and the empire were forced to submit to the dictation of foreigners anxious for spoil. Sweden, and particularly France, which had stood aloof but had figured every way to keep the cauldron of war boiling on German soil, now put in claims for heavy damages.

As a contemporary German writer said about these delegates at Osnaburg, "They already, in the very heart of Germany, discuss and dispute together over Germany, as to what they shall take from, and what they shall condescend to leave us, what feathers they shall pluck from the Roman eagle, and therewith decorate the Gallic cock."[1] At last the peace of Westphalia was signed, closing the war (1648). It established the individual independence of German princes, so long as they formed no alliance detrimental to the interests of the empire; it provided for the payment of indemnities to Sweden and several other states; it legalized the independence of the Swiss states; it restored the heir of Frederick V. (who had died) to the greater part of his possessions in the Palatine, and made him the eighth elector;[2] it gave Sweden a part of Pomerania, Wismar, and the Bishopricks of Werden and Bremen, and three votes in the German Diet.[3]

But France did not forget her own interests. She "received the bishopricks of Metz, Toul, and Verden, as much of Alsace as had belonged to Austria, the Sundgan, and the important fortresses of Brisach and Philipsburg." And Germany was forced to destroy a number of fortifications along the Upper Rhine, thus leaving the way clear for further conquests in the empire.[4] Thus ended the war which had devastated Germany, season after season, for

[1] Ibid. p. 345. [2] Vide Vol. III. p. 376.
[3] Labberton, Op. cit. p. 131. [4] Kohlrausch, Op. cit., p. 345.

NAPOLEON I. AS EMPEROR.

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irty long years, and annually cost her millions of dollars. ll that was gained by the war as a heritage to mankind is a spirit of greater toleration. We can but regret, wever, the state of bigotry and persecution that neces- ated this pearl of priceless value being bought at such ost of life and bloodshed.

Cromwell.

Spain had not been a party to the treaty of West- ia, and so hostilities did not cease between that ıtry and Louis. On the other hand she had assisted Frondeurs in their rebellion against their king and cially against his minister Mazarin. This was suffi- t provocation for war. In fact hostilities had never ly ceased. The French general, Conde, for siding with

the rebels, had been forced to find a home in Spain. Smarting under a sense of injustice, he afterward led a Spanish army into France.[1] Cromwell was now at the head of affairs in England, and formed an alliance with France. The English fleet swept the seas of Spanish vessels, and even blockaded some Spanish ports.[2] This war was closed by the peace of Pyrenees, whereby Louis obtained the Spanish princess, Maria Theresa, in marriage and large additions of territory. Conde was pardoned and restored to his possessions.

Seventeen years later, this marriage led to another war with Spain, for Louis supported his wife's claim to the Spanish Netherlands and to Burgundy, although one of the terms of the marriage was that she give up all claims as heir to Spanish possessions. The spirit of ambition thus displayed by Louis aroused the nations of Europe and led to the formation of the Tripple Alliance, or the union of England, Holland, and Sweden against France, which finally resulted in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668). Louis had to content himself with French Flanders;[3] but he was only abiding his own time for revenge. Mazarin died, and Louis grasped the reins of government, determined to rule alone. He called to his assistance the great financier, Colbert, who managed to supply the king with means for accomplishing his vast schemes.

The storm first broke over Holland. Louis was enraged at the Dutch for the seeming obstruction to his plans, and so he began to scheme for the conquest of Holland. First he purchased the neutrality of Sweden and of Charles II. of England. Then he sent his armies under

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[1] Patton: "Modern History," p. 347.
[2] Russell: "Modern Europe," Vol. II. p. 398 *et seq.*
[3] Vide Labberton: "General History," p. 247.

now overmatched by the combined French and English navies. Van Ghent and De Ruyter were the commanders of the one, the Duke of York and Earl of Sandwich of the other.[1]

Holland was making every endeavor to obtain help in this unequal struggle. Sweden was in the pay of Louis, but the Prince of Orange enlisted the sympathies of Spain and Austria, or rather they saw that their own peace and safety were connected with those of Holland. England withdrew from the coalition with France. The struggle raged with varying success. Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, joined the allies and defeated the Swedes; but Duquesne, the French admiral, defeated the Spanish and Dutch in three naval battles in the Mediterranean, in one of which battles De Ruyter was killed. Turenne, one of Louis' best generals, was also killed shortly before this time. Finally Louis signed the treaty of Nimeguen (1678). France gained possession of Franche Comte (the Burgundies) "and many large fortresses and towns in Flanders,"[2] and the Great Elector, Frederick William, restored his Swedish conquests in Pomerania. The sleepless ambition of Louis soon brought on another war. Anxious to have a share in the business of all other European powers, he put forward the claim of his sister-in-law, Charlotte Elizabeth, to a portion of the Palatinate. In the meanwhile, the League of Augsburg had been formed among the states of the Empire, Spain, and Holland as a protection against the power of Louis.[3] Because this league protested against this claim of Louis and urged the fulfillment of the treaties of Westphalia, the

[1] Russel: "Modern Europe," Vol. II. pp. 464-5.
[2] Gregory, p. 157.
[3] On this see Russell: "Modern Europe," Vol. II. p. 524.

Pyrenees, and Nimeguen, Louis ordered his armies to devastate the Palatinate. William of Orange had now become king of England, so that the natural English senti-

William, Prince of Orange.

ment of enmity against France was nourished and inflamed by their king. Then, too, Louis had enlisted himself in the

cause of the deposed English king, James II., and hoped to restore him (1686).

But Louis had passed the summit of his power. All Europe was uniting against him. The forces of Holland, Spain, the Empire, Sweden, Denmark, and Savoy, known as the Grand Alliance, were united against France. Louis was not at all dismayed, but marshalled his armies and sent them into the field. Fate was for a time kind to him. His generals, Luxembourg and Catinat, were victorious in a number of battles; but France felt unable to continue the unequal contest. Louis ceased hostilities and retired into his own kingdom. This was but a preparatory step to the peace of Ryswick which closed the war (1697). Louis restored all of his conquests and acknowledged the Prince of Orange as William III. King of England.

The motives that Louis had in dropping this contest were probably two-fold. First, France had become completely exhausted by her continued wars; and, second, Louis was planning to place his son, the Dauphin, or at least his grandson, Philip of Anjou, upon the Spanish throne. Just as the seventeenth century was closing, Charles II. of Spain breathed his last, willing his throne to Philip of Anjou, who was crowned Philip V. The house of Hapsburg was changed for the house of Bourbon.[1]

We have once more arrived at the War of the Spanish Succession, and have now considered under two aspects the political events of the seventeenth century. We will commence the eighteenth century with this war. Leopold considered his son, Charles, entitled to the Spanish crown. While Philip was acknowledged as king at Madrid and in Castile, Leopold's son was declared Charles III. and his standard was raised in Catalonia, Aragon, and the

1 Above p. 100.

Balearic Islands. Louis reigned for fifteen years in the eighteenth century, thirteen of which were occupied with this "War of the Spanish Succession." William III. died in the second year of the century and Louis supported the son of James II., or the Pretender, in his claims to the English throne. Thus Louis soon found himself in-

Prince Eugene.

volved in another war with the allied powers of Europe, under the lead of three great men—Marlborough, the English general; Eugene, the prince of Savoy and Imperial general; and Heinsius, grand pensionary of Holland.[1] This was the war of the Spanish Succession. In addition, Louis had internal troubles, for the Calvinists of

[1] Vide Labberton, Op. cit. p. 136.

Cevennes were in open and armed rebellion. Marlborough and Eugene are spoken of as supreme in their own countries. "In the summer they fought, and in the winter they governed and negotiated."[1] Such were the leaders with whom Louis had to contend. While one French army was trying to subdue the Calvinists, another, under Tallard, met Marlborough and Eugene at Blenheim, where one of the most terrible battles of history was fought. The slaughter was so great that only a fraction of the French army reached the Rhine.

France was now almost exhausted, and Louis was willing to purchase peace at almost any price. But the terms offered by the allies, one clause of which was that Louis should send an army into Spain to dethrone his own grandson, were, of course, rejected. However, after the fall of Marlborough in England, after the death of Emperor Joseph, and the Hapsburg claimant to the Spanish crown became Emperor, the alliance dissolved and the various powers formed separate treaties with France, which are comprehended in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).[2] Philip V. remained king of Spain; Emperor Charles V. received Mantua, Naples, Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands; Italy and Flanders became alienated; Victor Amadeus of Savoy received Sicily; and England was secured in the possession of the fortress of Gibraltar, commanding the entrance to the Mediterranean.

Thus was ushered in the eighteenth century. While Louis XIV. was almost dictating to the great powers of Western Europe, the world was astonished by the sudden appearance on the stage of action of two soldier-rulers in Northern and Eastern Europe. We have already mentioned their names—Charles XII. of Sweden, and Peter

1 Ibid. 2 Ibid. 137.

the Great of Russia. The first decade of the century witnessed the brilliant part of the former's career. We have already seen him dictating to the Danes, the Saxons, and the Poles. We have seen him defeating the armies of Peter the Great at Narva, but have also seen his army almost annihilated by the Russian Tzar at Pultowa. Hoping for a turn of the tide, Charles spent five years in vain endeavor to arouse the Turks against Russia, and then returned to his kingdom to organize new armies and plan new victories in the Baltic regions. Prussia, Russia, and England had, in his absence, taken possession of some Swedish territory along the Baltic, and Charles, though overmatched, was about to try to recover his territory when he was killed—shot, it is thought, by one of his own attendants. This Northern war was ended by the peace of Nystadt, which gave Russia her Baltic provinces.[1] Peter was vested with the title of Emperor of all the Russias, and styled "the Father of his country," Peter the Great (1721).

The Swedish crown now passed to a succession of weaker monarchs, the king loosing much of his hereditary power, until the last third of the century, when Gustavus II. occupied the throne. He restored the power of the king, and waged a successful war against Russia, the old enemy of Sweden. After Peter the Great, none of the sovereigns of Russia were remarkable for strength or energy until Catherine II., dethroning her husband, Peter III., usurped the powers of the throne. "She reigned with great sagacity and brilliancy,"[2] and we might add very despotically as well. Another Turkish war occurred during her reign.[3] Holland, Belgium, and Denmark played unim-

[1] Labberton: "General History," pp. 141-2.
[2] Gregory: "Handbook of History," p. 124.
[3] For which see Russell: "Modern Europe," pp. 521-2.

portant parts in the affairs of this century. Italy was mostly divided among the other powers of Europe. Spain had come to occupy a secondary place in the affairs of the continent, although her power was by no means to be ignored. Philip V. ruled nearly half a century. By seiz-

Catharine II.

ing Sardinia and Sicily, he brought the great Quadruple Alliance (England, France, Holland, and the Empire) against him, forcing him to give up these two islands, and to dismiss his prime minister, the ambitious and offensive Alberoni (1718). The last years of his reign were occupied by a war with England, arising on account of his punishment of English smugglers captured on his coasts.

Philip left one son, Don Carlos, king of Naples; another, Philip, Duke of Parma; and his Spanish crown to another, Ferdinand VI. Thirteen years afterward, Don Carlos became King of Spain as Charles III. These three Bourbon kings instituted reforms that were gradually raising their country in prosperity and power, and would have finally resulted in elevating Spain to its former place among European nations, had their successors pursued the same wise policy.[1] In the reign of the last of the three, was formed the Bourbon Family Compact by which the kings of France and Spain bound themselves to protect each other from all enemies. The enemies of one were the enemies of the other and the possessions of the different branches of the house of Bourbon became as one nation—the subjects of any part were admitted to naturalization in all other Bourbon dominions. It was under Charles III. that Spain allied herself with France to assist the American colonies in gaining their independence. An attempt was made during this war to drive the English from Gibraltar, but the fort was besieged in vain. Charles IV. wore the crown when the century closed.

Let us now glance at England. We have already noticed the connection of this country with the wars of Louis XIV. William III. was succeeded by Anne, another daughter of James II., and wife of the Danish prince, to the exclusion of the Pretender (son of James II., acknowledged by Louis as James III.), and the war dragged along. Her reign[2] was rendered remarkable by the number of brilliant authors who wrote at this time. Such were Addison, Steele, Swift, Pope, Thompson, Young, and Watts. Though Anne was the mother of seventeen

[1] Vide Buckle: "History of Civilization," Vol. II. p. 92 *et seq.*

[2] Buckle calls her a "foolish and ignorant woman."

children, none of them lived to succeed her. Consequently, on her death, George of Hanover, a descendant of Elizabeth, daughter of James I., was crowned king. In his person, England had a king who could not speak the language of the people over whom he was called to rule (1714).

Anne.

We are to notice another effort of the Pretender to secure the crown. He landed at Peterhead, but soon returned to France. During the reign of George I., England became a party to the Quadruple Alliance against Spain, mentioned above. The South Sea[1] Scheme, a wild speculating plan for creating an extensive trade with Spanish South America, and by its profits paying the public debt,

[1] Consult Knight: "Pictorial England," Vol. IX. pp. 372-3.

s one of the unfortunate events of this reign. But at
ıt Sir Robert Walpole became first lord of the treasury,
d premier of the English cabinet. His long term of
renty-one years was a season of prosperity to England.
lis was a peace policy. Being a whig, his measures met
ith bitter opposition from the tories.

Here then we are introduced to the two political par-
ies in England who were striving for supremacy. The
ories were the conservative party believing in the old in-
titutions—the ancient constitution, the divine right of
ings, etc. The whigs were the progressive party. The
tter came into power in the time of William III. (Prince
f Orange), and maintained itself at the head of affairs
r half of a century. Bolingbroke, one of Queen
nne's favorites, who had exiled himself upon the acces-
n of George I., was soon pardoned and became one of
e most bitter leaders of the tories against the govern-
nt of Walpole. Still the latter continued to rule the
gdom until long after the accession of George II.
27).

George II. became involved in a war with Spain, to
ich we have already referred, although Walpole was
ays for peace. In the war of the Austrian Succession,
t distracted the powers of Europe during the middle of
century, England sided with the Austrian Queen,
ria Theresa, this too, even while the war with Spain
tinued. King George accompanied the troops. At the
tle of Fontenoy, in Belgium, the English army suffered
reat defeat. Once more England suffered from the
bitious dreams of a descendant of James II. His
ndson, Charles Edward, supported by the French,
led in Scotland, captured Edinburgh, was victorious at
ston Pans, and then advanced on England, but was

utterly routed at Culloden, barely escaping to the
tinent. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored pea
Europe (1748).[1]

Scarcely eight years passed before England be
involved in another continental war known as the S
Years' War.[2] France, of course, sided with the ene

Walpole.

of England. This war extended to the colonies that t
two nations had planted, side by side, in both Am
and the East Indies, known in American history as
French and Indian War. In fact, the American col
had been fighting for two years when war was decl
(1756). William Pitt, the Great Commoner, was at
juncture called upon to form a ministry. The succe

[1] This treaty must not be confounded with the earlier Peace of
la-Chapelle. See above. [2] Described below.

England during this part of the century is greatly due to his skillful management.

In India, the famous Surajah Dowlah was induced by the French to march upon Calcutta, and the story of the prisoners in the deadly Black Hole is connected with his name (1757). But Lord Clive[1] at last conquered this native chieftain, drove the French from Calcutta, and "laid the foundations of the great empire of the English

George III.

in the East Indies."[2] The English were successful upon the sea also, under Admirals Boscawen and Hawke. But, in the midst of this war, George II. died, and George III. "the best of the Hanoverian kings," succeeded to the throne (1759).[3] The war in America also finally turned in

[1] Vide Macaulay: "Essays," Lord Clive. Gregory, p. 94.

[2] The following is Buckle's estimate of George III.: "Every liberal sentiment, everything approaching to reform, nay, even the mere men-

favor of the English. Havana was taken and the French possessions conquered. At the Peace of Paris between England, France, and Spain, England obtained the French possessions east of the Mississippi, and from Spain, Florida (1763).

William Pitt had retired from the premiership, to be succeeded by the Earl of Bute, and then by George Grenville, who was the author of the "Stamp Act," which was

William Pitt.

the first act that led the American colonists to resist the English government. The second term of William Pitt, now Earl of Chatham, was short. He came into power too late to prevent the American war. But it was in the premiership of Lord North that the war of the American Revolution occurred. We will treat of that in a future

tion of inquiry, was an abomination in the eyes of that narrow and ignorant prince. Without knowledge, without taste, without even a glimpse of one of the sciences, or a feeling for one of the fine arts, education had done nothing to change a mind which nature had more than usually contracted."

chapter. During the ten years of this struggle for independence, however, England became involved in war with France and Spain. The exercise of her assumed right to search vessels belonging to neutral countries for articles contraband of war, led to the formation of the great "Armed Neutrality" for the protection of neutral vessels. By the terms of this league, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark united for the protection of their merchants. The Peace of Versailles closed this war and established the independence of the United States.

At the close of this war, William Pitt, "the younger," became prime minister of England at the early age of twenty-four. In India, Tippoo Sahib, Sultan of Mysore, rose in arms against the English, but Warren Hastings concluded a satisfactory treaty of peace with the Sultan. Upon the return of Hastings to England, however, he was impeached for maladministration. After a trial of seven years, in which Burke, Fox, and Sheridan distinguished themselves by their eloquence, he was acquitted.[1] At the close of the century, England, as well as the rest of Europe, was disturbed by the great French Revolution, and clubs of sympathizers were formed throughout the country. Fox and Sheridan favored France, while Burke bitterly denounced the violence of the republicans.

From the first, the English government had sided against Republican France, by forming a league with Prussia.[2] Three years later, a general coalition was formed by the monarchs of Europe against the spread of republican ideas and particularly against the new French govern-

[1] Vide Macaulay's essay: "Warren Hastings."

[2] Vide the French History of M. Thiers: "Histoire de la Revolution Francaise," Vol. I. p. 212 *et seq.*

ment. England was the prime agent in this movement.[1] Lord Nelson, one of the greatest admirals that the world has ever known, commanded the English fleet during this troublous time. He succeeded in driving Napoleon's fleet from the Mediterranean, and, at the beginning of the new century, the Danish fleet was defeated by him in the harbor of their own capital, Copenhagen.[2] Lord Nelson was killed at the battle of Trafalgar just as he was gaining another great victory over the French (1805).

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the German states became involved in a war over the succession to the Austrian possessions of the Emperor. This war has been called the "War of the Austrian Succession." Charles VI. of Austria, knowing that the male line of the Hapsburg princes would become extinct upon his death, laid his plans to place the succession upon his daughter, Maria Theresa. In order to avoid trouble, Charles had issued his celebrated "Pragmatic Sanction," appointing his daughter heir to his thrones. The closing years of his life were occupied in securing the consent of other European powers to this arrangement, and the Emperor died believing that there would be no opposition to his disposal of the Hapsburg crowns.

But, as we have noticed before, there was rising in Northern Germany a comparatively new state, whose king was destined to vie with the Hapsburgs in power and, finally, to secure the Imperial crown. This was Prussia, whose king, Frederick William I., had organized a powerful and well-disciplined army. He died the same year as Charles VI. (1740). He left his crown, army, and a full treasury to his son, Frederick II., better known to history

[1] Op. cit. Tome III. pp. 276-7.

[2] Vide Southey: "Life of Lord Nelson," London, 1867.

as Frederick the Great. Frederick, not regarding himself as a party to the Pragmatic Sanction, at once demanded Silesia as a possession of the Prussian crown. On Maria Theresa's refusal to give up that state, Frederick poured his armies into Silesia and took it by force.[1]

This act of Frederick let loose the "dogs of war," all the more as the powers of Europe, except Russia, seemed to think the time had come to dismember the Austrian empire. The elector of Bavaria, a descendant through the female line from Emperor Ferdinand I., modestly claimed the Austrian possessions as his own; France claimed Belgium; and Spain, Milan. Finding herself thus surrounded by greedy enemies, Maria Theresa threw herself upon the loyalty of her Hungarian subjects, who rallied at once to her aid. Although she found that a secret alliance had been concluded by France, Spain, Bavaria, Saxony, and Prussia, her armies were soon in the field, and fought with considerable success. Prussia finally withdrew from the alliance, and England came to the assistance of the Empress-Queen. Her armies met with one success after another. But Frederick again joined the alliance, and the French gained a victory at Fontenoy.[2] By this time the elector of Bavaria had died, and his possessions had passed to his son, who consented to the election of Francis Joseph, husband of Maria Theresa, to the Imperial throne; so that, after eight years of war, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed. Maria Theresa was confirmed in her Austrian possessions; her husban Francis Joseph, was made emperor; Frederick II. held Silesia; and nearly all other conquests were restored. Thus was ended the War of the Austrian Succession.

[1] On this, vide Macaulay's Essays, and Kohlrausch: "History of Germany," pp. 376-7. [2] Above p. 121.

Eight years of comparative peace followed, but there seems to have been a restless spirit abroad in Europe. Maria Theresa with regret saw Frederick occupying the rich field of Silesia. George II. of England feared lest his Hanoverian possessions would be snatched from him. So France, Prussia, and Sweden quietly plotted together, while Austria, England, and Saxony were as busily forming counter-plots. Each faction was endeavoring to gain as many allies from the other powers as possible.[1] In the shifting around that followed, England was induced to break with Austria and unite with Prussia. France and Austria, who had been enemies for three hundred years, were constrained now to unite their forces. Sweden was controlled by France, so that Frederick at last realized that a powerful coalition of Austria, Russia, France, Sweden, and Saxony was forming to humble him. Thereupon he demanded of Maria Theresa a plain statement of her intentions. Her answer being evasive, Frederick poured nearly seventy thousand admirably disciplined soldiers into Saxony, demanding passage-way into Bohemia, and the great "Seven Years' War" was begun. This proved to be one of the most unfortunate wars of modern times, and it presaged the future greatness of Prussia.

Great battles were fought in rapid succession. Frederick astonished the world. His armies gained victories at Prague, Rosbach, Leuthen, Breslau, Crevelt, Schweidnitz, Zorndorf, Minden, and Torgau. But he met with many severe defeats, and his resources became so exhausted that, had not Russia, under Peter III., indirectly aided him by deserting the allies, Prussia would almost certainly have been overthrown. Frederick was able to form a not dishonorable treaty, for the Peace of Hubertsburg closed

[1] Vide Kohlrausch, Op. cit. p. 382.

the war by replacing everything as it was at the close of the previous war, and thus Silesia remained attached to Prussia. Germany, however, had been completely devastated, and nearly nine hundred thousand lives had been spent to settle the affairs of Europe (1763).

The last third of this century witnessed the disgraceful partitions of Poland among her more powerful neighbors. Surrounded by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, her rich fields were envied by the monarchs of these countries. Her crown was elective and the cause of much quarreling. Finally Russia, Austria, and Prussia, agreed to share among themselves the better part of her territory. By the first partition Russia obtained twenty-five hundred square miles; Austria, thirteen hundred; and Prussia, seven hundred. Twenty years later, Prussia received more than a thousand, and Russia more than four thousand square miles of Polish territory. Before the close of the century, the remainder of Polish territory was unequally divided among these three greedy neighbors. By these partitions of Poland, Russia increased her territory by one hundred and eighty one thousand square miles; Austria, by forty-five thousand; and Prussia, by fifty-seven thousand.

Joseph II. succeeded his father, Francis I., as emperor of Germany, and finally succeeded his mother, Maria Theresa, in her Austrian possessions. Joseph II. was unfortunate in many respects. He endeavored to raise the condition of his subjects, but failed in many of his most cherished plans. He joined Catharine II. of Russia in a war against the Turks, but the powers of Europe were alarmed at the possible growth of the members of this new alliance. Therefore the Christian nations, England, Holland, and Prussia, formed a coalition to assist the Turks. But upon the death of Joseph and the accessio

of his brother, Leopold II., Austria adopted a peace policy and a great war was averted. Austria became involved in the wars of the French Revolution (for the un-

Early Turkish Warfare.

fortunate French queen, Marie Antoinette, was a sister of Leopold) and at times was left almost alone to face the armies of Napoleon. In the beginning of the next cen-

tury. Leopold became first Emperor of Austria, giving up his title as Emperor of Germany. The German Empire, as successor to the old Roman Empire, ceased to exist, and the German states were severed for three-fourths of a century, when they were re-united under the lead of Prussia.

The greatest event of European history during the eighteenth century was the French Revolution, of which we will now attempt a connected account. We have already traced the history of that nation down to the close of Louis XIV.'s long and active reign (1715). His great-grandson, Louis XV., a boy five years old, was his successor, with the profligate Duke of Orleans as regent. The government of France adopted a peace policy toward England.[1] Though a Bourbon occupied the Spanish throne, we have seen how the powers of Europe became alarmed at the ambitious plans of Alberoni, Philip V.'s minister, and how France became united with her hereditary enemies, by joining with England, Holland, and the Empire to form the great Quadruple Alliance against Spain. This alliance soon brought the Spanish monarch to his senses. He dismissed his minister and accepted the terms of peace that the alliance offered him.[2]

The spirit of speculation was rife in Western Europe about this time. Great schemes were daily formed for the rapid accumulation of wealth. We have already seen how financial ruin was brought upon many wealthy people in England by investing their money in the South Sea Bubble. In France, this was preceded by a scheme equally as ruinous. It was about five years after the accession of Louis XV. that the Scotchman, John Law,

[1] See Russell: "Modern Europe," Vol. III. p. 98.
[2] Above.

announced his great Mississippi Scheme. It was proposed to form a company for working the mines of fabulous wealth that were supposed to exist along the banks of the great American river. Shares were sold at enormous prices, but proved to be worthless paper. The money was squandered, and the speculators beggared, while Law was forced to fly for his life.[1]

John Law.

Philip, Duke of Orleans and regent of France, die after having ruled for eight years. He left a reputatic as "one of the most elegant, accomplished, and dissipat men of his time." After his death, France was ruled Cardinal Fleury, whose policy was peace. Such too v that of Walpole across the Channel, so that Europe

[1] Vide Russell, Op. cit. pp. 142-3.

blest with comparative rest for nearly twenty years.[1] Then the French king tried to force his father-in-law, Stanislaus, upon the people of Poland, as king. This family scheme was objected to by both Russia and Austria. The brief war that followed closed by making Stanislaus Duke of Lorraine, with the proviso that, upon his death, the duchy should become a French possession, which accordingly it did some thirty years later.

Louis XV., by this same treaty, became a party to the Pragmatic Sanction. But no sooner had Charles VI. died, than the French, claiming Belgium, supported the elector of Bavaria in his struggle for the Imperial crown. We have already given the results of this struggle in which all Europe became involved. During the last years of his reign, Louis was governed by a succession of abandoned mistresses, most noted of whom were Madame de Chateauroux, Madame de Pompadour, and Countess du Barry. But in those days, kings looked upon such a dissolute sort of life as did George II. of England, "that gallantry was becoming a prince."[2]

In her struggle with England, about the middle of the century, for American possessions, France lost Canada and most of Louisiana. Louis XV. was the originator of that family compact between the Bourbon rulers that united other powers against that family.[3] But just as the last quarter of the eighteenth century began, Louis died, and the crown passed to his grandson, Louis XVI. He is mentioned as an "amiable, but awkward young man of twenty." Though free from many of the vices of his predecessors, he was lacking in those qualities necessary for one who would wear the crown during such troublous

[1] Ibid. 148. [2] Knight: "Pictorial England." Vol. III. p. 397.
[3] Above.

times as were now upon France. For, on the whole, the young king had come into possession of no enviable heritage; the treasury was exhausted, and the country was on the verge of civil war.

The king seems to have been bent on giving his subjects as good a government as possible, so he made the aged Maurepas prime minister. First Turgot and, afterward, Necker were called to the chair of minister of finance. But the nobility had set their influence against all the reforms proposed, and these able financiers were forced to give place to others more popular. Since the later years of Louis XIV., the spirit of oppression had been gaining strength in France until now "a supreme and irresponsible control was exercised over the whole country by the clergy, the nobles, and the crown." "Everything was for the governors, and nothing for the governed." Had Louis wished—and he seems to have endeavored to do it—to give his people more liberties, the influence of the clergy and profligate nobility in governmental circles would have forbidden it. As it was, "there was neither free press, nor free parliament, nor free debates."[1] Such were the times in which Louis XVI. was called to the throne of France. One gleam of light shines out in the darkness of these times, though here we have to thank the feeling of enmity toward England, which led France to aid the American colonies in their struggle with England. But this point will be considered later.

In spite of the persecution against freedom of thought instituted by Louis XIV.,[2] there had ever been a few fear-

[1] Buckle, Vol. I. pp. 539-543.

[2] Vide Buckle, Op. cit. p. 494 *et seq.* for a scathing though just review of the "Age of Louis XIV. and the resulting influence that led down to the French Revolution."

less writers, who, though knowing full well the dangers of their course, were bold enough to proclaim advanced ideas. Through a long line of unfortunate authors, whose martyrdom had given strength to the cause of freedom, there had arisen a class of writers who were fearless and tireless in their criticisms of both Church and State. Such were Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau. They pictured to the people their deplorable condition. The unequal division of the land, the arbitrary nature of the government, and the injustice of taxing only the industrious classes, as well as the burdensome tax on certain necessary articles, such as salt, etc., were all held up as grievances to the people who were ever willing listeners.[1] Nothing but a violent revolution that would stir up the whole social fabric of the kingdom could change the nature of things in France. Even at the cost of the torrents of blood that were shed, we can but see the justness of the cause that led the oppressed and down-trodden people of all occupations to rise against an idle, profligate nobility, who lived in ease and luxury, who reaped the profits of the labors of the industrious, and who, by their corrupt lives, disgraced the laws of civilization.

When, however, Parliament refused to sanction the measures proposed by Louis' new minister, Colonne, it was banished to Troyes, though speedily recalled to Paris. Necker was at last re-appointed minister of finance, and he united with Parliament in demanding that the States-General, that had not met for nearly two hundred years, should be assembled. This demand was finally granted. The delegation consisted of twelve hundred members, representing the people, the nobility, and the clergy, though the representatives of the first were just equal in num-

[1] Patton: "Modern History," p. 398.

ber to those of the other two. The King and the nobility were desirous of forming two assemblies, and so demanded that the popular representatives vote by themselves. This they refused to do. Finally the popular delegation organized themselves into a "National Constituent Assembly," and compelled such representatives of the nobility and clergy as were desirous of legislating at all, to unite with them in deliberating upon public affairs.[1] But a number

Storming of the Bastile.

of the nobility, alarmed by popular risings in their provinces, hurridly emigrated to foreign lands. An indication of the intensity of popular feeling at this time was the storming of the Bastile or state prison, because of rumors that the King was assembling at Versailles an army to march upon Paris. The prison was left a mass of ruins, and the commandant was killed.

[1] Vide Thiers: "Histoire de la Revolution Francaise," Vol. I. p. 39.

This National Constituent Assembly finally prepared a new constitution, which it presented to the king. Louis accepted it and confirmed it with his oath, though it stripped him of his most cherished prerogatives, depriving him of the support of the nobility and of such executive power as might control the excesses of the Assembly.[1] After establishing this constitution, the Assembly dissolved, declaring themselves ineligible to membership of the Legislative Assembly for which the new constitution provided. Thus, by their own act, did they deprive their country of the help and counsel of her ablest men just when she was most in need of such help.

At last, the royal family, terrified at the course affairs were taking, attempted to escape into German territory, where the King knew that the Emperor and other rulers awaited him with troops and assistance to enforce his authority at Paris. But through the suspicion of an official at Varennes and the mild disposition of Louis, they were stopped and returned to Paris, prisoners. It must be observed that, during all this trouble, the most radical Revolutionists could not honestly charge their king with a desire to avenge insults or assert his rights by the shedding of blood; but he calmly and manfully attempted to maintain his authority without violence. He was from this time, however, a virtual prisoner in his own palace.

The new national Legislative Assembly of 1791 convened October first. It was by no means a body of the ablest men of the nation, because they had barred themselves out. The nation was at the mercy of some seven hundred inexperienced men, who were divided into the most hostile factions, willing to enact the most extreme measures submitted by their leaders. The Assembly soon became

[1] Thiers, Op. cit.

divided into four bodies—the Feuillants, the Center, the Girondists, and the Cordeliers or the Mountain. The last two parties were the ruling spirits of the Assembly. The Girondists were moderate republicans, while the Mountain were the fierce democrats. The former gained a majority, forced the King to form a Girondist cabinet, and they ruled France.

Execution of Louis XVI.

They then forced Louis to declare war against Emperor Francis II. who, as the queen's brother, was naturally endeavoring to unite the sovereigns of Europe in some plan to aid the French monarch. In addition, the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia were harboring many of the French nobility who had fled from their homes, and whom

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the more radical members of the Assembly wished to have declared traitors. This action of the European sovereigns alarmed the Revolutionists to such a degree that a Parisian mob stormed the royal palace. The King was forced to throw himself upon the Assembly for protection: and the members of the royal family were thrown into the Temple as prisoners. One month later, the mob butchered the inmates of the various prisons. As the first month of the new year was drawing to a close, the King himself, calm and manly to the last, was guillotined. Before the year closed, Queen Marie Antoinette was beheaded, as was also the King's sister, Elizabeth.

In the meantime, the National Legislative Assembly had given place to a National Convention,[1] of which the Girondists and the Mountain were the leading factors. The former were losing their power, while the latter were increasing in strength. The power of the latter lay not in their numbers, but in the fact that they were "supported by the Jacobin Club,[2] the Commune,[3] and consequently the Parisian mob, which was then the chief power in the state."[4] In September previous to the death of the king, the convention had abolished royalty and declared France to be a republic; and, in the following March, a "Committee of Public Safety" was appointed under the presidency of Marat. Scarcely two months passed when he fell by the

[1] On this point, vide Labberton: "General History," p. 146.

[2] This was one of the most celebrated organizations of the Revolutionary period. It was organized soon after the assembling of the States-General, and advocated the extremest revolutionary measures in government. Its name came from the place of assembly, a convent of the Dominican Friars of St. James.

[3] *Commune* is the French word for municipality. Every town and village in France has its Commune, in which is vested the corporate property.

[4] Ibid.

hand of the assassin, Charlotte Corday, who suffered death as a penalty for the deed.[1]

Next the Girondists fell before the increasing power of the Mountain, and more than a score of them were sent to the block. The "Reign of Terror" began (1793). Still, at this time, there were three parties; one led by Herbert, clamorous for terror and blood; another by Desmoulins and Danton, and the third under Robespierre. The last named character was at the head of the Jacobin Club. He represented Paris in the National Convention, and soon became the leading figure in France. It is hard to conceive of his strange position. He is said to have remonstrated against the frightful massacres that were occurring. Still he claimed that "there are periods in revolutions when to live is a crime." With this as a motto he directed the hand of Charlotte Corday against his rival, Marat; advocated the deaths of the Girondists; and overthrew the Herbertists and Dantonists, sending their leaders to the guillotine.

Robespierre now ruled without a rival. Military tribunals were erected, and France swam in the blood of her citizens. No distinctions were made. All offences were punished alike with death, and the command of Robespierre was often the only form of trial allowed the victims. Titles of rank and fortune had from the beginning been forbidden. *Citoyen* and *citoyenne* took their place. The King was tried as Louis Capet, and the assumption of any distinctive rank was equivalent to a death warrant. But these bloody measures at last recoiled on their chief supporter. Robespierre fell by means of the same methods he advocated. His enemies becoming powerful, led him without trial to the same scaffold from which the blood of

[1] Vide Thiers: "Histoire de la Revolution Francaise," Vol. IV. p 251.

thousands of his victims had for months almost incessantly poured (1794).

The fall of Robespierre led to a new order of things. A new constitution was adopted. The government now became vested in a Directory of five men, assisted by two chambers or legislative assemblies; the lower chamber was styled the Council of Five Hundred; the upper, the

Robespierre.

Council of the Ancients, consisting of two hundred and fifty members. For nearly five years France enjoyed a better form of government than at any time since the fall of the monarchy. But the whole nation was in a deplorable state of ruin. Throughout the country agriculture, art, and manufactures were neglected. The State had absolutely no resources, and the roads, canals, etc., were fast falling to ruin. Yet, during all this time, the unpaid,

unfed, and unclothed armies of the Republic were holding their enemies at bay; for, all the crowned heads of Europe had early become alarmed at the spread of republican ideas. There was, from the day of the death of Louis XVI., organized opposition, throughout Europe, to the new government. Among the first commanders of the French army, was Marquis de Lafayette, but, as he sympathized with the king and the nobility, he was soon obliged to seek safety by flight into Belgium.[1] Carnot managed the military affairs for the Republic for a long time. He adopted the plan of promoting to higher rank such soldiers as from time to time distinguished themselves in actual service. And thus we always find the ablest men in command of the armies. Such were Hoche, Pichegru, and Kleber, who were everywhere successful over the allied powers.

While this revolutionary spirit centered around Paris, we must bear in mind that all the cities of France were imbued with the same spirit; and the communes of Lyons, Rheims, Orleans, and Versailles acted in unison with the commune of the capital, butchering such of the nobles as had not previously sought protection in flight to foreign states. The military tribunal at Nantes put fifteen thousand people to death, while at Paris, the number of executions averaged three hundred and fifty per month.[2] In the mean time, the English and Spaniards had occupied Toulon, and the French government determined to compel them to withdraw. Dugommier conducted the seige, and Napoleon Bonaparte was in command of the artillery.

[1] Lafayette was a pure patriot. But any appearance of an inclination to show justice was regarded as a sign of enmity to popular interests. Vide: "Student's Modern Europe," pp. 526-7; also Buckle, Vol. I. p. 337, where Burke's opinion of Lafayette is criticised.

[2] Patton: "Modern History," p. 405.

Here it was that this young Corsican came first into such prominence as to be marked for promotion. Just as the National Convention was transferring its power to the Directory, there occurred great popular uprisings in Paris, and Bonaparte, who was present as a subordinate officer of the republican troops, gained an easy but a bloody victory over the popular mob.

The Directory prepared for a vigorous prosecution of the war with the allied European powers. A triple campaign against Austria was decided upon. This was the war that witnessed the meteor-like rise of Napoleon. The general outlines of his life are so well known that we need only refer to them in general terms. From this time, for twenty years the history of France and that of Europe centers around this military genius, whom it took the allied forces of all the powers of Europe to check in his career of success. At the head of his army, Napoleon entered Italy; and Savoy, Milan, Lombardy, Parma, Naples, Mantua, and Rome were either conquered or obliged to sue for peace. Finally the Peace of Campo Formio closed the campaign by giving Belgium to the French, and Venice to Austria (1797).

Napoleon's next great campaign was directed against Egypt, planning to make this his center of operations, and seize from England her Indian possessions. But the annihilation of his fleet by Nelson in the harbor of Alexandria compelled him to change his plan and attempt the conquest of Syria. Thence he returned to Paris where the Directory was unable to govern in harmony. A revolution occurred at this time, and the Directory was supplanted by the Consulate (1799). Three consuls were chosen with Napoleon Bonaparte as First Consul for ten years. He soon submitted a new constitution to the vote of the

people. It was adopted and made France in reality a military monarchy. Napoleon was then the ruler of France. About two years later, he was made consul for life, with the right of naming his successor. And two years more saw him hereditary Emperor of France (1804).

But when Napoleon was made First Consul, he found France surrounded by bitter enemies. A second coalition had been formed among the powers of Europe to oppose French encroachment. The last year of the eighteenth century saw Napoleon's armies again crossing the Alps, and at the same time invading Germany. Napoleon's star was now in the ascendant; apparently nothing could stand before him. The victories of Marengo and Hohenlinden[1] led to another treaty of peace and gave Napoleon a chance to prepare for a proposed invasion of England. An army of one hundred thousand men was organized undoubtedly with this end in view. England made great preparations for defence, and was seemingly as anxious for the war as France. But the other powers of Europe were as much alarmed as was England, and a third coalition between England, Austria, Russia, and Sweden was formed. Napoleon was, of course, obliged to change his plans and guard his inland boundaries from the attacks of the allied armies.

Three years of war occurred, in which Napoleon's armies won great victories over Austria, Russia, and Prussia, at Austerlitz, Jena, Auerstadt, and Friedland; compelling Austria to the humiliating peace of Presburg (1805), Russia to that of Tilsit (1807), and wresting a large tract of territory from Prussia. Still it was not all victory for the great Napoleon, for Nelson again crushed the French navy at Trafalgar; and at the battle of Eylau

[1] Here the French were commanded by Moreau.

Czar Alexander, of Russia, also claimed the victory. England, too, energetically persevered in her hostilities against the Emperor.

Napoleon, however, was master of Western Europe. He made Holland a kingdom, with his brother, Louis, as king; his brother, Jerome, was made king of Westphalia; his brother, Joseph, was given the crown of Naples; while

Lord Nelson.

Napoleon himself became king of Italy. Then he united with Spain in a project to divide Portugal between them, the sovereign of the latter country fleeing to Brazil. Soon after this there arose a dispute over the succession to the Spanish crown, and the French Emperor conceived the idea of driving the Bourbons from that throne. The kingdom of Naples was taken from his brother, Joseph, and given to his brother-in-law, Murat. Then a French army entered Madrid, and proclaimed Joseph Bonaparte king of Spain.

But this act aroused the dormant patriotism of the Spanish. They arose against the foreign king. England sent an army to assist them, one of the commanders being Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterward Lord Wellington, who soon succeeded to the chief command in Spain.

Wellington.

As long as Napoleon himself could be present to direct the affairs in Spain, the French cause was successful. But when he was called away to conduct a campaign against Austria, even the victories of his generals were weakening to his cause. Although some fourteen German states had formed the confederation of the Rhine, with Napoleon as

protector, England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, resumed hostilities against Napoleon almost as soon as his armies retired from their various territories. Called from his Spanish conquest into Austria, he conducted the battle of Wagram that forced Emperor Francis I. to sue for peace. This same year Napoleon divorced his wife, Empress Josephine, and the next year Maria Louisa, daughter of Francis I., Emperor of Austria, became his wife (1809).

For three years after the battle of Wagram, Napoleon was busy trying to solidify his empire. In fact, he gave the French people a much better government than they had previously enjoyed. "Western Europe received in the Code Napoleon, a law, which to an extent hitherto unknown in Europe, brought social justice into the affairs of life. The privileges of the noble, the feudal burdens of the peasant, the monopolies of the guild passed away."[1] And above all, the law was a protection to the ordinary citizen, although there was little of what we call liberty known to the French people under Napoleon.

Alexander I. of Russia, was the first monarch who dared to defy Napoleon by violating his Berlin Decree, which blockaded the ports of Europe. In 1810, he opened the ports of Russia to all ships bearing neutral flags, and even placed a duty upon some French imports. Napoleon could not brook this seeming challenge, and began at once to prepare for war. Two years later, at the head of six hundred thousand men he began his march for Russia. He met the Czar on the field of Borodino, and was successful. Then Alexander, by a well planned retreat, led the Emperor into the heart of Russia. At last the spires of Moscow met their sight, and amid cheers the French

[1] Labberton: "General History," p. 148.

marched upon the city. They found it entirely deserted, all the inhabitants having followed the Russian army.

Two days later, flames burst forth in several places in the city, and it was soon a mass of smoldering ruins. It was winter and the French army was forced to retreat. Then it was that the Czar and his army appeared. They followed the French closely. They were accustomed to this severe weather which killed the French by thousands. Napoleon reached France almost alone. So complete was the Emperor's control over his subjects that another army was soon raised for him. But his disastrous Russian campaign proclaimed to Europe that this great "military phenomenon" was not invincible. All Europe now united against him. The final struggle occurred the next year. The Emperor met the army of the allies at Leipsic, and was defeated. He retreated into France. As the year 1813 closed, the allied army crossed the Rhine. Two months later, Paris surrendered and Napoleon himself became a prisoner of war. He was banished to the isle of Elba in the Mediterranean, there to dwell with the empty title of emperor. The Bourbons were restored, a brother of Louis XVI. becoming Louis XVIII., king of France (1814).

It lacked only a few days of one year from the surrender of Paris, before all Europe was alarmed by the report that Napoleon had escaped from his island prison. Landing at Cannes with fifteen hundred men, he marched toward Paris where his name was enough to draw all his old soldiers to his side. His entry into Paris was in the nature of a triumph, Louis XVIII. withdrawing to Ghent. Twenty days from his landing at Cannes, he was again dwelling in the Tuileries, and again ruling France. Thus began his "reign of one hundred days." More confident

of success, and more determined than ever to free the continent from such a dangerous ruler, the sovereigns and princes of Europe united firmly to drive Napoleon from his throne. But the Emperor's movements were rapid. He raised a large army, determined to crush the English

Abdication of Napoleon.

and Prussians before they could unite with the Austrians and Russians. For this purpose he marched into Belgium, and met the English under Wellington at Waterloo. The allied army under Blucher, however, arrived on the field

in time to render most material assistance. The smoke arising off this memorable field forever obscured the rapidly setting star of Napoleon. He was defeated and further struggles were useless. He surrendered to the British government, and the ship, Bellerophon, carried him first to London and then to the lonely, ocean isle of St. Helena, where the allies decreed he should spend the remainder of his life under the guard of the English. His captivity was ended by death six years later.

After the Peace of Paris, the great powers of Europe set about adjusting the affairs of that continent. Now the Pentarchy of great powers—Austria, France, Great Britan, Prussia, and Russia—was recognized as controlling the affairs of Europe, but, in special cases, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden were consulted. At the Congress of Vienna, these eight powers took measures for the division of the booty accumulated by Napoleon. France was cut down to about the boundaries of 1790. The masterpieces of art which Napoleon had brought from Rome and elsewhere to decorate his capital were ordered to be torn from their places and returned to their original owners. Austria received large Italian possessions. Prussia was given increased German territory. Russia extended her boundaries to the north, to the west, and to the south. Belgium and the Dutch provinces became the kingdom of the Netherlands.

In Spain, the Bourbons were restored in the person of Ferdinand VII., who proved to be an oppressive despot. The power of Spain had steadily been waning, and since the death of Ferdinand, few nations have witnessed as great and continuous internal troubles as has that once powerful state. The rulers have never been noted for their strength or for their brilliancy. In Italy, the new

gain the power that they held during the Reign of Terror, but the citizens and the national guards held firmly the ruling power until Louis Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon I., was elected president by an overwhelming majority of popular voters (1848).

The president was assisted by a legislative assembly, consisting of seven hundred members, elected by a vote of the people. Thus the Revolution in France was completed. Although not eligible to a second term of office, Napoleon, by a bold stroke, caused himself to be elected, under a new constitution, for a term of ten years. This was accompanied by the midnight arrest and imprisonment of the leading republicans and Orleanists, by dissolving the Assembly, by crushing a revolt in Paris, and by submitting the question to a vote of the people.[1] President Napoleon was so popular that many wished to make him emperor. So the following year the question of the restoration of the Empire was carried by a vote of the people, and Louis Napoleon was made Emperor Napoleon III. (1852).

The Revolution in France was a signal for revolutions throughout Europe in general. The various factions of Austria also demanded a constitution. The Hungarians had placed themselves under Kossuth, and had gained possession of both Pesth and Vienna. Ferdinand fled to the Tyrol, and sent an Imperial army to subdue the Hungarians. The Slavic subjects now rose in insurrection. The Imperial forces, commanded by Windischgratz and Jellachich, besieged Vienna and reduced it to subjection. Trouble then arose at court, and the Emperor was forced to abdicate. His nephew, Francis Joseph, accepted the crown. But Hungary, refusing to recognize a change of

[1] On this see Patton: "Modern History," p. 421.

tral government was opposed by all the various ele
of which the population of the empire was com
There were the Magyars of Hungary, and there
large Slavic population. The Magyars were divided
two parties—the Old Magyar party and the New Hung
party.[1] The former were for depriving all others, e
members of their own race, from all share in the go
ment. The latter, led by Kossuth, were in favor of a
ting all Hungarians to office. The Slaves were b
advocating *Panslavism*, whereby all the Slaves of E
were to become united as one people under one
Then, too, German liberalism was spreading also
Austria. Prince Metternich was at this time
minister of Austria, though virtually ruler of the En
and wished to be dictator of all the German states.

Thus matters stood when the revolutionary p
dawned upon Europe. About the year 1848, there
in Europe a great revolution. This was but the bre
out of the spirit of opposition on the part of the
of the people against the hereditary rulers and priv
classes, the people demanding a share in the gover
In some cases, the movement was crushed, yet the a
there started was not in vain. The trouble comme
France. Louis XVIII. had been succeeded on th
of France by Charles X. and he by Louis Phillip
sought at one blow to deprive the French people
of their political rights which were so dearly b
the blood of the great Revolution. The people d
reform, and this was refused by the king. The r
spirit was aroused, and the king was driven
throne. France now entered upon her second
a republic. The Commune and the rabble aga

1 Labberton: "General History," p. 151.

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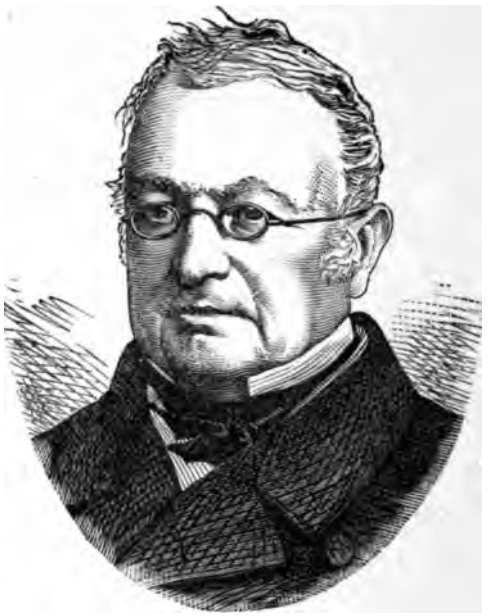
monarchs, rose in rebellion, chose Kossuth governor, and drove the Imperial army out of the kingdom. Thereupon Russia interfered. The Hungarians still fought with terrible vigor, but the armies of the two emperors forced them into submission, and Francis Joseph became emperor amid horrible acts of cruelty toward the rebellious subjects.



M. Thiers.

The German people also arose against their princes and demanded a German parliament, and the rulers were forced to yield to their demands for constitutions. But in many cases the same rulers felt at liberty to violate the constitutions thus granted. A "preliminary parliament" of the German states was held at Heidelberg for the purpose of drafting a German constitution. The old German Empire was revived, governed by an emperor assisted by a parliament. The new Parliament, when it assembled, chose

Frederick William IV. of Prussia, Emperor. But he declined the honor offered him in this way, and the Parliament gradually grew in disfavor with the people. The remnant was finally dispersed by the Wurtemberg government.

Still the King of Prussia was not averse to wearing the Imperial crown of Germany. But the Emperor of Austria was anxious to revive the old Empire with Austria at its head. So that a couple of years later there were two congresses in session—one at the Prussian capital, Berlin, and one at Frankfort, under the lead of Austria—for the purpose of organizing a German confederation. War between Austria and Prussia seemed inevitable, but Czar Nicholas, the most powerful ruler in Europe at this time, interfered in favor of Austria. England and France sided with the smaller German states, and matters were adjusted as they stood at the close of the first imperial period in French history.

England had avoided war by making occasional concessions to the demands of her subjects from the time of King John down to that of the four Georges and William IV. But the nineteenth century has witnessed greater strides in reform than ever before. The reigns of the last two Georges were filled with clamors and public meetings for granting greater privileges to the commonalty of English people. Sometimes these enormous meetings were dispersed by military force,[1] but the spirit of liberty increased in strength and determination.[2] Such was its influence that it threw the English people on the side of Greece, in her fight for independence. The Catholics, too,

[1] As at Manchester in 1819.

[2] This was strongly manifested in the parliamentary motion of 1823, condemning slavery and hoping its speedy abolition. This was consummated in 1833. See Gregory, pp. 155–7.

were granted political freedom, and Daniel O'Connel became a member of Parliament.

William IV. had hardly ascended the throne (1830), when Lord Russell introduced his great Reform Bill, allowing political privileges to what have been termed the middle classes. It finally passed Parliament.[1] Thus England was revolutionized without war, sixteen years before agitation on the continent had reached a climax. The agitation did not cease here. Although the young and everywhere popular queen, Victoria, ascended the throne (1837), the question of greater reforms was kept before the people. The reformers were called Chartists, and demanded universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, no property qualification for Parliament, and payment of members. The second, fourth, and fifth of which demands have since become laws.

Six years after the accession of Queen Victoria, the "great agitator," O'Connel, began with renewed energy the agitation of the Irish question, which has not yet been settled. The question then was for the repeal of the union of Ireland with England. Great mass meetings were held all over Ireland to discuss this question. Then, too, the poorer people in the kingdom demanded the repeal of laws imposing duty upon breadstuffs. Sir Robert Peel was prime minister, and during his administration the "Corn Laws" were repealed.[2] While the continent was settling its affairs, Prince Albert[3] was holding the great exhibition or world's fair in London; and such men as Gladstone and Disraeli were rising to commanding places

[1] See Mackenzie: "The Nineteenth Century," London, 1880, p. 144.
[2] Vide Irving: "Annals of Our Time," 1837-71, p. 192.
[3] Prince Albert, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, to whom the Queen was married, Feb. 10, 1840.

among English legislators. The last half of this century has witnessed many political changes, at which we will now glance. In Italy, the people had forced the rulers to grant constitutions, and to lead them against the Austrians in hope of driving the latter out of Northern Italy. The Pope was driven from Rome, and deposed as a temporal ruler. The ambition of Napoleon led him to interfere in this quarrel. In the final settlement of Italy, Victor Emmanuel became king of Sardinia, but the Pope was re-established under French protection. Denmark was having trouble over the succession of its sovereigns and the disposition of the duchies of Scleswick and Holstein. The German states then interfered. Czar Nicholas finally stepped in and adjusted affairs by establishing the law of male succession, and by naming Prince Christian of Glucksburg as heir to the crown.

The Czar of Russia was about the only monarch from whom his subjects did not force concessions. Indeed Nicholas was the autocrat of Europe at this time, but he overreached his power when he sent his armies south to conquer the Balkan Peninsula. Thus he brought on the Crimean war, which united England, France, and Turkey against Russia. The Czar's forces were exhausted in less than two years, and he was forced to a treaty which excluded his ships from the Black Sea. Then he planned to weaken his neighbor, Austria, by encouraging Sardinia to renew the war with that power for Italian independence. France gave more material aid, and the future unity of Italy was guaranteed by uniting Lombardy and Central and Southern Italy under Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia.

Shortly afterward, Nicholas was succeeded by Alexander II., who so occupied himself in the adjustment of his

internal affairs[1] as to be unable to carry out the plans for Denmark that his predecessor had made. No sooner had Prince Christian become Christian IX. then there was trouble in Germany over the duchies of Holstein and Schleswick. Prussia and Austria, conjointly, wrested them from the Danish king; but then they quarreled over

Nicholas I.

the division of the spoil. William I. had become King of Prussia, and Herr Otto von Bismarck-Schoenhausen had become his leading minister.

Prince Bismarck at last warned Austria that further communication in regard to the Schleswick-Holstein matter

[1] This great work was the abolition of serfdom. See Rambaud: "Popular History of Russia," Vol. III. p. 221 *et seq.*

would be unnecessary. The Austro-Prussian war of 1866 resulted. Bismarck first assured himself of the neutrality of France, while Austria tried to stir up the German states against Prussia. The great Prussian victory of Konigsgratz decided the war. Austria lost her Italian possessions, and the result was all Italy, except Rome, became united under one king. Austria was also obliged to agree

Bismarck.

to the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation, and obliged to consent to the "North German Confederation."

Returning to France, we find the popularity of Emperor Napoleon III. on the wane. Then, too, for various reasons, trouble with Prussia was brewing, because of the result of the Austro-Prussian war, which so greatly enlarged Prussian power. Napoleon demanded "the cession of the left bank of the Rhine" to France. This

demand was, of course, rejected. Four years later, the crown of Spain was offered to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, who was a relative of King William. As this would increase the power of the Hohenzollern princes, Napoleon objected, and, in the interests of peace, the prince retired. Still Napoleon was not satisfied and demanded a pledge from the Prussian king that he would not again allow Leopold to urge the claim. This was refused.

All this was child's play. The fact is, the two nations had made up their minds to test the question of strength, and were simply casting about for some excuse to give the civilized world for beginning war. The French representative at Berlin, Benedetti, was finally made the cat's paw to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. An imaginary insult to France by Bismarck was made the occasion. To such a poor shift as this were these two civilized nations put for an excuse to offer to the world at large. Napoleon believed that a war would make him popular. His ministers and generals assured him that everything was in readiness for war, but the opposite proved to be the case.

Germany, on the other hand, was thoroughly prepared. King William and Prince Bismarck knew well the power of Prussia. There were a million men at the disposal of the Prussian authorities when war was declared, for many of the German states offered to aid King William. France was not prepared, and had only about one third as large an army. Marshal MacMahon was the greatest military leader that France could boast of, but he was defeated by the Germans, under the Crown Prince of Prussia, at Weissenburg and at Worth. Next another French army, under Bazaine, was defeated at Gravelotte. The French then concentrated their forces in Sedan, where, two months

and a-half after he had declared war, Napoleon surrendered with eighty-four thousand men. The four months siege of Paris then ensued, and peace followed the fall of the French capital.

As a result of this war, France lost Alsace and Lorraine, agreed to pay Germany one billion dollars, and her government was revolutionized. Napoleon was deposed, and France has ever since nominally enjoyed a republican form

Victor Emmanuel.

of government. But to Prussia, the result was still more momentous. Ten days before the Peace of Paris was signed, all the German princes met in the Hall of Mirrors in the palace of the French kings, at Versailles, and there they organized the present German Empire, with the king of Prussia as hereditary emperor. King William became Emperor William I. of a united Germany.

The effect of this war was felt even in Italy, where French troops were stationed to protect the temporal possessions of the Pope. Under the patriot general, Garibaldi, the Italian army had driven out of Italy all foreign powers, and had united the peninsula under Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia. When war between France and Prussia became unavoidable, the French troops where withdrawn from Rome, and a few weeks later those of Victor Emmanuel entered the Imperial City, though under the imprecations of the Pope, and made it again the capital of a united Italy.

One other European war has occurred since the Franco-Prussian war, and that is the Russo-Turkish war. "Iran and Turan have ever been at feud," and Russia cannot help looking with a longing eye at the Turkish capital, to occupy which has been the ambition of her princes since Rurik first led his bold Northmen across the Baltic. The Turkish states of Herzegovnia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria were continually defying the central government and often in a state of open or semi-rebellion. This caused the surrounding powers—Austria, Germany, and Russia—considerable uneasiness. Then, too, the cruel and even barbarous methods of warfare employed by the Turkish government rendered its existence, in the heart of Christian Europe, obnoxious.

At last, the three surrounding powers drafted a "Note," demanding of Turkey that, in administering the government of Herzegovnia and Bosnia, five points must be observed—"unlimited religious freedom; abolition of the system of farming the taxes; the application of the direct revenue of Bosnia and Herzegovnia for the benefit of those provinces; establishment of a special commission, consisting in equal parts of Moslems and Christians, to watch

over the execution of the reforms; and improvement of the industrial condition of the country population."

England is too much interested in the affairs of Turkey to allow the other European powers to overpower that government, seemingly foreign to Aryan Europe. So she demanded that the integrity of the Osmanli Empire must be respected. When the other powers presented the Berlin Memorandum demanding an armistice of two months that the demands of the insurgents might be re-

President Grevy.

spected, England refused to unite with them in presenting this memorandum. But the Sultan accepted it, was deposed, and was succeeded by Murad V. and he, soon, by Abdul-Hamid II.

But the revolt in Herzegovnia and Bosnia continued, and it was countenanced by the government of Servia whose army was recruited from the Czar's forces. The Sultan's

troops were successfully pressing onward into Servia until Russia ordered them to halt. In the meantime, Alexander II. had demanded a better government for the Sultan's Christian subjects. A "conference of the great powers" was held in Constantinople and it urged the Sultan to adopt reforms in government. The Czar intimated that, if steps for a better administration of affairs were not taken soon, he would use force to compel such steps.

The Sultan was assured by England that, as far as England was concerned, there would be no compulsion. The Sultan objected to such interference on the part of other powers as contrary to the treaty of Paris, for Turkey had had no voice in the conference at Constantinople where the demands made upon her originated. Two weeks after the Porte's reply to the Protocol (demands of the Constantinople conference of great powers), Russia declared war, and before night fifty thousand troops were marching toward Turkey. And, in January of the following year, they demanded, at the gates of Constantinople, submission on the part of the Sultan to a treaty, which, after modification by the famous Berlin Congress (1878), gave Herzegovnia and Bosnia to Austria, declared Servia and Roumania independent, made Bulgaria a self-governing tributary, granted Montenegro enlarged territory, gave Cyprus to England, gave Russia portions of Asiatic Turkey, and, in fact, broke the power of Turkey in Europe.

We will not continue this sketch of European history farther. At the moment of present writing (1888), no great changes have taken place in the political map of Europe, since its reconstruction at the hands of the Berlin Congress. But every one knows that Europe is one vast military camp. All the nations have put forth their greatest exertions to be prepared for a storm which seems

to be gathering in the political sky. He would be indeed a bold prophet who would undertake to forecast the future. It only remains for us now to review this entire period and see if we can not make out some great, general forward movements. If such prove to be the case, then we may await with confidence the future results of passing years.

Nations and races have a life history no less than individuals. In this brief review, we have seen several nations successively reach the summit of power, and apparently enter their period of decline and ever-lessening influence. Intermixed in this matter, there is also an interesting point for the anthropologist to consider. That is the question of race. Now we have seen that the three great branches of European Aryans were the Celts, the Teutons, and the Slaves, and have indicated the Teuton as the parent stem. If we observe that Portugal, Spain, France, and Italy—the so-called Romance nations—are also the ones most Celtic in ethnology, it will not escape us that they all have apparently passed their period of greatest power. If Italy appears to be an exception, we must remember that Italy has but recently succeeded in uniting under one government a number of separate states.

The Teutonic branch is the most important figure in the history of Europe. As an historical fact, it was Teutonic power that overthrew the Western Roman Empire, and in the confederation of Germanic states that Empire was afterwards revived. To-day, the Teutonic nations of Europe stand at the summit of power. There remains to be considered the Slavic branch. Russia is the Slavic nation of Europe. While Teutonic Europe is divided into a number of nations, such as Germany, Austria, England, etc., the Slaves, except a few unimportant provinces, are

united. Ever since pre-historic times, the Teutons and th Slaves have faced each other in Europe, and often in hos tile array. We anticipate that the great conflict of the future is to be along that line. Not only the political supremacy in Europe, but that in Asia as well, hangs in the balance.

Glancing over the conflicts of the past few centuries, we see that great movements, involving the welfare of the race, go forward with almost irresistible force. To the immediate onlooker of the time, or to the casual historian the pages of history seem largely taken up with the petty deeds of individuals. But individual intrigues, wars fo personal aggrandisement, even if they result in th momentary elevation of this or that state, are but trifle borne along on the surface of the current.

Take, for instance, the idea of toleration in religion Do we not see this idea continually gathering force an making greater headway until it carries all before it? W see Europe deluged in blood, that this idea may prevail Many of these wars were undertaken for selfish, dynasti purposes. History seems to be full of the doings of this kin or emperor, of the great battles of this general or admiral But after all, when we stand off and survey the whol movement, those wars and intrigues are but conflagration incited by the friction of the onward march of the idea o toleration. They may appear in history as the efforts of De Medici to change the succession in France, or, as th "Thirty Years' War," but the real cause lies deeper.

Probably a more striking illustration can be draw from the development of the idea that the rights of th masses of the people are superior to those of the privileg classes. Recall the long train of events, extending over century of time that led up to the French Revolution.

was but the gathering force of this idea. What a great conflagration thence ensued. In that lurid glare, how strongly stands out the figure of Napoleon Bonaparte! But look again, as the smoke of Waterloo clears away, Napoleon, the individual, has disappeared. But not so the idea leading up to the Revolution itself. The rights of privileged classes received a blow, and scarcely fifty years later we see nearly every country in Europe wresting constitutions from their rulers. And in this case, the end has not been reached. The agitation still continues, and let us hope, without accompanying bloodshed, more glorious results will soon be reached.

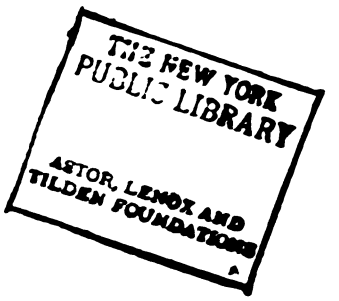
This is the lesson we would draw from European history. It is no slight task to bring, in an at all connected way, within the short compass of one chapter the story of political life and times in Europe during the last three centuries. Of necessity, we have had to be extremely brief, omit many important points, have had to overlap the accounts here and there; but in the path here marked out, we hope the reader can gather a connected idea of the main thread of events, and see the force of our conclusions.

CHAPTER III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

INTRODUCTORY—Voyage of Columbus—Discoveries of the Cabots—English Colonization—Virginia—Plymouth Colony—Formation of the Thirteen Colonies—Colonial Troubles—Royal Usurpation—Wars with the French Colonies—French and Indian War—The Causes of the Revolution—Outline of the Revolution—Formation of the United States—Organization of the North-west Terrritory—Purchase of Louisiana—War of 1812—Explorations of the West—Purchase of Florida—Annexation of Texas—War with Mexico—The Mexican Concession—The Gadsden Purchase—Settlement of the Northern Boundary—Purchase of Alaska—Growing Importance of Slavery—The Causes of the Civil War—Outlines of the Civil War—Conclusions.

THE TIME has now come when we are to turn from the development of Aryan life in Europe and the East, and watch it as it crosses the Atlantic and takes possession of the New World. This is a most important epoch in the history of culture. We have seen the Hellenic Aryans assimilating the culture of the Orient, and carrying it forward to greater heights. We have watched the successive unfolding of other parts of Europe in the light of this culture. Grown bolder, we have seen the enlightened nations of Europe fitting out their expeditions for trade and discovery. We want now to follow those expeditions across the Atlantic, and study in particular the development of our own country; watch the growth of the small settlements along the shore, until they form a nation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and claim as their possession the fairest portions of the New World.

As we have seen, the port of Palos had been chosen by Spanish officials as the point from which Columbus should sail on his voyage of discovery. Thither he journied, full of joy, bearing a royal order from Ferdinand and Isabella for that almost insignificant port to furnish him with vessels, and to man them for this foolhardy enterprise of a madman—for such was Columbus and his expedition considered to be. But royal mandates must be obeyed, though this took the flower of the population and drew some loved one from nearly every family in the village. For seven and a-half months, the little port was in mourning for those whom they daily imagined were being consumed by the hideous monsters, with which their superstition peopled the trackless ocean. But one Spring day, nearly four centuries ago, one might have heard the joyous tones of ringing bells floating out upon the mid-day air of Andalusia's most happy port. The garments of mourning were changed for the gay attire of festive days. For in the harbor of Palos rode at anchor the storm-worn caraval of Columbus, just returned with tidings of a newly-found world.

A thrill of wonder ran through the Old World as the rumor spread, that the dark and restless waves of the Atlantic, far to the west, broke on the shores of another world. People flocked from far and near if only they might gaze upon the countenance or touch the garments of the greatest navigator that the world had ever seen. The learned discussed the almost incredulous existence of antipodes. Embassadors hastily wrote long letters to their monarchs, describing the strange discovery, and descanting on its importance. Kings and princes paused in their

plans of war and conquest to listen to the marvellous tales of these wondrous regions. The once mourning Palos now prided itself on being the home of those mariners who had accompanied the great explorer upon his expedition. Ferdinand and the fair Isabella impatiently waited at Barcelona in state for Columbus to visit them, that they might, from his own lips, learn of the most wonderful event of their reign. Like the triumph of a Roman conqueror was the journey of Columbus to the Spanish court. No honor was lacking in the showers of favors that were cast upon him. No courtier was preferred before him. The rabble

Tomb of Ferdinand and Isabella.

that cried madman at him some months before, were now ready to fall down and worship him.[1]

It little concerns us whether the Chinese Hwui Shan or Prince Madoc, of Wales, first visited our country. It matters not how long the Northmen were sailing to and from our shores. It makes little difference where Columbus gained his information of our Western land. The truth or falsity of traditions on these points ought not to detract from the merits and even genius of the one man of his time who, through reasoning, proved and insisted,

[1] Irving: "Life of Columbus," Vol. I. p. 281 *et seq.*

against the flippant arguments of the so-called learned men of his age, that land could be reached by sailing west: who persevered until he had demonstrated the truth of his theory, and brought to Europe a knowledge of a new world when her people were ready to enter and possess the same. All glory to the Northmen voyagers who found and forgot the way to our shores, but America will never forget the man who finally opened her ports to the onward pressure of Aryan migration.

After Columbus had pointed out the way, the Spaniards spent nearly three quarters of a century in searching for gold in this new world, in exploring the coasts of America, and in establishing settlements, before their colonists reached the territory of the present United States. It is true that De Leon, De Soto, and others had explored the wilds of our Southern States and found the great "Father of Waters;" but the sixteenth century was more than half gone before the town of St. Augustine was founded on the banks of the St. John's River, in Florida, and before the Franciscan monks had planted their mission at Santa Fe, in New Mexico. As is well known, these were the first two permanent settlements in the territory of the United States.

At that time, Spain and Portugal were leading the powers of Europe in enterprising discovery. It is not at all strange that other nations were backward in joining in these enterprises when we learn that the Pope (Alexander VI.) had issued a bull, generously confirming to Portugal all new lands that might be discovered east of a certain meridian, and to Spain all territory to the west of same.[1]

[1] The first meridian chosen was to be one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape de Verde Island. But subsequently the line was removed two hundred and seventy leagues further west. Vide Low: "Maritime Discovery," Vol. I. p. 253.

But as soon as the spirit of religious freedom bega spread over Europe, other nations determined to se share in the western discoveries, and the Pope's dropped out of sight. England was first, as we have s

Cabot Discovering Labrador.

in following Spain across the Atlantic.[1] Upon the coveries of the Cabots, England based her claim to r

[1] Portugal sent out some ships, but the greater portion of her nists settled in South America.

of the territory of the present United States east of the Mississippi.[1]

The French were not long in following the example of England. Five years after the Cabots made their voyages (1497), numbers of French fishing smacks made annual expeditions to the coasts of Newfoundland for the fish that there abound. French explorers, however, confined their voyages mostly to the region of the St. Lawrence and its bay. They called this territory New France. But the Huguenots, unable to bear the persecutions at home, were the first to seek that religious freedom which it is our proud boast that the shores of America have always extended to the persecuted. Three years previous to the founding of St. Augustine, a party of French Huguenots, or Protestants, landed on the shores of Florida, and there sought to build them homes where they could worship God in peace.

No persecution is so cruel as religious persecution. In this instance, it followed the colonists across the Atlantic. The Spanish surprised the settlement, and killed the colonists simply because they were Protestants. Though this was avenged (though not officially) by the French, it resulted in the founding of St. Augustine by the Spaniards (1565). In the North, the French were more successful. During the first decade of the seventeenth century, they laid the foundations of permanent settlements at Annapolis (then Port Royal), Nova Scotia and Quebec.

The period of English colonization began with the attempts, though unsuccessful, of Sir Walter Raleigh to plant a colony on the coast of the Carolinas. Though failures, these voyages led to such a knowledge of America

[1] Vide Justin Winsor: "Narrative and Critical History of America." Boston. Vol. III. article by Charles Deane, pp. 1-59.

and its resources, that the English began to form systematic plans for colonizing the New World; and, while the French were settling the St. Lawrence region, the English were sending colonists into the more tempting regions of

Virginia and the Potomac Valley. After Raleigh's various attempts to settle America had failed, and after the East India Company, by its unheard of success, had demonstrated the value of co-operation in prosecuting plans for

commerce or settlement, companies were formed for colonizing America.

Now England chose as the scene of her first colonial enterprise that region of North America lying between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth parallels of north latitude. Early in the seventeenth century, two companies[1] were formed for the purpose of building up a colonial empire in America. It was not known then that wealth could be drawn from these new shores only by hard labor and drudgery; on the contrary, it was believed that never failing mines of gold existed in ready reach of all, but experience was soon to teach them differently.

The territory between the thirty-fourth and the forty-first parallels was granted to the London Company consisting of "west country gentlemen and traders". The Plymouth Company was permitted to settle between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth parallels. Thus it will be seen that there were three degrees common to both, but, in case a settlement was formed in this middle territory by one company, the other was forbidden to settle within one hundred miles of that point. It is interesting also to note that the territory thus claimed by England extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific.[2]

Both companies immediately set about organizing colonial expeditions. In the affairs of the northern company, Ferdinand Gorges figures very largely, but meets with failure throughout. The London Company, owing largely to the executive ability of Captain John Smith, whose

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[1] Or rather, perhaps, one company with two subdivisions. Doyle: "English Colonies in America," New York, 1882, Vol. I. p. 109.

[2] The second charter granted by James I. to the London Company fixed the boundaries of their territory at two hundred miles north and south from Old Point Comfort, extending from sea to sea. Vide Lucas: "Charters of Old English Colonies in America, London, 1850, p. 12.

ry is known to all, was far more successful; and, before first decade of the seventeenth century had passed, had ly established at Jamestown Virginia the first permanent English settlement in the New World (1607). No

Winthrop.

one nation of Europe was permitted to monopolize the c zation of the New World. The Netherlanders, it be remembered, had reached considerable prominer a commercial people; consequently soon after the E

settlement had been successfully established at Jamestown, they turned their attention to the New World also.

The ship, Half-moon, sailed from Holland, under the command of Henry Hudson, and established the Dutch claim to the Hudson valley (1609). As the voyage was

Winslow

made under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company, their vessels began from that time to pay regular visits to America. Turning their attention to commerce, they found much more gold in the valuable peltry gathered from the natives along the banks of the Hudson, than the

gentry of Jamestown did in their vain search for gold mines. In a very few years, the trading stations in the Hudson valley became settlements and centers of colonization; and thus were laid the foundations of New York and New Jersey, at that time called New Netherlands.

The North Virginia, or Plymouth Company, did not begin its career of successful colonization until some ten years after the settlement at Jamestown had been established and then under a new charter. Just as religious persecution drove the first colonists from France to Florida, so religious intolerance led to the first permanent settlement in the New England States. As a result, we find the early settlers of New England different in character from the impoverished nobles who came to Jamestown in search of riches or adventure; for they sought a home in the wilds of the New World, for the sake of principle. Being dissenters from the English church, they had, early in the seventeenth century, sought religious freedom in Holland, which the long struggle of William the Silent had made a harbor for the persecuted from all lands. These refugees from English intolerance were called Puritans, which epithet their lives rendered a title of honor. Loath to lose themselves among a foreign population, they were encouraged by the success of the Jamestown colony to seek homes in America, where there was room for them unmolested to fashion a community free from interference.

The voyage of the Mayflower and the landing of the Pilgrims upon Plymouth Rock followed (1620). Upon territory belonging to the Plymouth Company, they built their first settlement. There they found the freedom that they sought. Hills and valleys, upland and lowland, trackless woods and fertile river valleys—all proclaimed welcome and liberty to those who would come and occupy

them. The plan was a success, and colonists began, at once, to pour into New England. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were colonized in rapid succession by these honest, industrious people—either immigrants from England or emigrants from existing colonies

William Penn.

In the time of Gustavus Adolphus, Sweden sought a share of the American continent. Her colonists settled in what is now known as Delaware. But, toward the close

of the century, Charles II. of England granted this san territory with a large tract further west to William Pe and others who really laid the foundations of both Delawa and Pennsylvania, the latter as a refuge for persecut Quakers.[1] The Catholics, no less than the Puritans, fe the weight of persecution in England. This led to t colonization of Maryland as a place of refuge for Catholic North Carolina was settled by emigrants from Virgini the first settlers in South Carolina were French Hugueno and English colonists; Georgia, the last of the thirte colonies, became a home for the poor who were oppress and imprisoned under the severe laws that existed in tho days against debtors. James Oglethorpe was the project of this scheme for colonization, and the patron of th colony.

It would seem as if the vast Atlantic slope cou have furnished peaceful, happy homes for the few thousan who had found their way to these regions. But the col nists were doomed, in a measure, to disappointmer Their troubles were, almost from the beginning, of a thre fold nature—the oppressive forms of government th were forced upon them; the spirit of intolerance that e isted among themselves; and the struggle of the differe nationalities for supremacy in the New World. The fi was by far the most serious source of trouble to the stru gling colonists, though their distance from the home go ernment caused much delay in carrying out plans for int ference in colonial affairs. Had they been left to gove themselves, they would, no doubt, have enacted wise a wholesome laws. Indeed, it often happened that some the several colonies were at times thus left to themselve

1 The charter of the Virginia company was withdrawn in 1624. Stit "History of Virginia," p. 304. *et seq.*

and then there would follow years of peace and happiness. But it was more often the case that the home government of each colony claimed the privilege of interfering in its management, almost always to the detriment of the colony.

Cecil (Lord Baltimore).

This, too, gave disaffected colonists, upon returning to their home-land, an opportunity to work injury to the colonial government by misrepresenting the condition of affairs in the colonies. On the strength of such reports, the crown

often sent over a change of officers without any good reason for so doing.

Now, at various times in colonial history, there were five different forms of government in force among the different colonies,[1] but all forms sooner or later merged into three principal ones—Proprietary, Royal, and Charter. The other two are illustrated by the first government of Virginia, which was a sort of "commercial corporation;" and the governments of Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, and Rhode Island colonies, which were rather "voluntary associations that formed their settlements first and later became vested with other forms of government imposed upon them by their sovereign."

Proprietary government originated in a grant of a tract of land, by the king, to some person or persons, who thus became proprietors of large American estates which they proposed to settle and govern. The names of William Penn and Lord Baltimore—the one leading the Quakers into Pennsylvania, and the other the Catholics into Maryland—will forever remain as memorials of this form of government. Charter governments vested certain legislative powers in a company, or colony, so that the government was more or less of royal authority, and in a sense representative. This form of government was valued above all others by the colonists, who were willing to fight for their chartered rights. The New England colonies were nearly all governed by charters, and had their legislative assemblies.[2] Those, who revere the strict, pure lives of our Pilgrim Fathers, will cherish the names of Carver, Bradford, Endicott, Winthrop, and many others who figured prominently in the governments of the New

[1] Vide Swinton: "Condensed United States History," p. 84 *et seq.*
[2] See Lucas: "Charters of Old English Colonies."

England colonies. Those, who cherish the principles of religious toleration, can recall with admiration the names of Roger Williams and his earnest followers.

In the royal form of government, the kings or governments of the mother-countries selected their own agents, or governors, who ruled the colonies according to royal dictation. Every one of the thirteen colonies became, sooner or later, a royal province, but the original form of government was in some cases restored. We can, however, see how uncertain the liberties of the colonists were when we perceive that they were subject to royal restriction at any time. And the power of royal oppression has become personified in the name of Sir Edmund Andros, the tyrant of New England; as has the character for incompetency, in the names of Peter Stuyvesant and the other Dutch governors of New Netherlands. Thus did the actors stamp their names upon the age in which they lived. In mentioning the names of the prominent characters of colonial times, we must not forget the Odysseus of American history, Captain John Smith, whose zeal in exploring the shores of our continent gave the Old World the first accurate knowledge of our coast-line; and who played such an important part in the colonial history of Jamestown.

Royal duplicity is conspicuous in American colonial history. It mattered not what rights had been guaranteed the colonists in their various forms of government, they were often rendered null and void at the whim of the sovereign. But it was not in the internal government alone that the English colonists were oppressed by a fickle and unjust king. Barely a score of years had passed after the first Puritan foot had pressed Plymouth Rock, before restrictions were placed upon colonial commerce. Orders were forwarded to Virginia that all exports must be

shipped to English ports, to be sold in English market Then, ten years later, it was further ordered that these e ports must be carried in English vessels.[1] Thus did tl oppression begin that finally led to the rebellion of tl colonies against European government.

Peter Stuyvesant.

In spite of the care that the grasping sovereigns c European nations (more especially England) tried to exe cise in order to confirm their power in the New Worl the spirit of independence that led these colonists to ou shores found rich soil in which to grow. The home go

[1] See Bancroft: "History of the United States," Vol. I. pp. 145-6.

crnments, several weeks' journey from American shores, were found incapable of governing the growing colonies. Thirteen years after the founding of Jamestown, Governor Yeardly created a legislative assembly to assist him in governing the colony. From this germ, has grown our

Sir Edmund Andros.

republican form of government. But another element was introduced into American life so seemingly at enmity with this boasted independence, that we can but wonder at its rapid growth. We refer, of course, to the system of

slavery that grew from the landing of a cargo of Negroe in Jamestown, the same year that the Mayflower anchore in Boston harbor (1620). These Negroes were quickl purchased by the tobacco planters, and slave labor fro that time became a prominent feature in colonial life.

It has been truly said that "whoever will study th character of the earliest immigrants to this country, wi find the same indomitable love of liberty among the Ep copalian adventurers on the Roanoke; the Puritans wh in the fear of God, established their congregation upon t rock of Plymouth; the Quakers, on the Schuylkill; t Catholics, on the Susquehanna; the Netherlanders, the Hudson; the Germans, on the Lehigh; and the Swed and Finns at Cape Henlopen. He will be ready to sa that God in his providence seems to have collected fro the nations of Europe, men of sturdy limbs, free mind and bold hearts, to lay broad and deep the foundation of state which, for the benefit of the human race, was t prove, under the most propitious circumstances, the ex periment of a popular representative government."[1]

Still, when we turn to consider the next importan source of trouble to the colonists, we can not help regard ing the population of these early times as an anomalou mass, out of which to build our present free institution There was the rigorously strict Puritan of New Englan who fled from the intolerance of the Old World, but eve he had no charity for one who did not worship accordin to Puritan doctrines. There were the gentry of Virgini many of them recruited from the pens of Newgate, an from the streets and slums of London. Still they pride themselves on their loyalty to the established church England. But Salem burned its witches; Massachuset

[1] Seward quoted in Swinton's "History," p. 87-8.

banished Roger Williams, and hung Quakers;[1] Virginia imprisoned Quakers and Baptists, and banished Puritans; and none of them would allow Catholics to live at peace in their borders.

Yet all these various sects could dwell side by side and flourish, and develop that spirit of scepticism in the

Endicott.

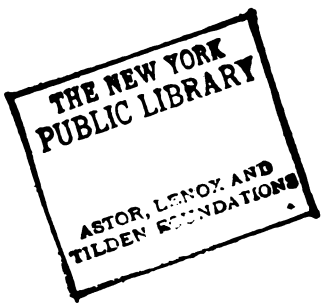
infallibility of any established set of doctrines, until the more serious trouble of wars between the various nationalities led them to strangle this petty, antiquated spirit of intolerance, and seek their common safety in the strength

[1] On this see Doyle: "The Puritan Colonies," Vol. I. p. 123.

of unity. This brings us down to a time when the most serious source of colonial trouble began to manifest itself. We have seen how England claimed almost the entire

View of Quebec.

Atlantic coast on the strength of the voyages of the Cabots. Although the Spanish claimed the southern part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of this vast region, and France the northern portion—by right of exploration and colonization—and, by a similar title, the Dutch claimed the Hudson Valley, the English kings went right on portioning out these regions to English subjects regardless of any other rights.[1]

There were then four prominent contestants for supremacy in America in early times—the English, French, Spanish and Dutch. As these colonists thought it the duty of loyal subjects to espouse the quarrels of their mother-countries, we find the different nationalities fighting on American soil as often as the Atlantic breezes brought rumors of wars at home. When, therefore, England and Holland were engaged in their commercial war, the colonists were also in open hostility. As a result, Charles II. gave New Netherlands to his brother, Duke of York, for the conquering. In this he was successful and thus New Netherlands became an English province, and its name became New York in honor of its royal governor (1664). There was henceforth one less contestant in the great struggle that was soon begun for the possession of the North American Continent.

As we have seen, the French were among the earliest Europeans to establish colonies in America. Though they attempted to settle the Carolinas and Floridas, their successful enterprises centered in the St. Lawrence region. From Annapolis, Quebec, Acadia, Montreal, and other points which the French occupied, such explorers as Champlain, LaSalle, Hennepin, Joliet, and Marquette set out on their long expeditions of discovery or trade. Thus the French became acquainted with the shores of Lake Champlain; they followed the St. Lawrence up to the

1 For an account of Swedish colonization, vide Fernow's article "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. IV. p. 395 *et seq.*

great lakes, and rowed up its tributaries to gather furs from the Indians; they sailed over the great lakes to the fisheries of Mackinaw and the copper regions of Lake Superior; they crossed the Michigan peninsula and lake, and sought the sources of the great Mississippi; they floated down the Illinois to its mouth; and on the bosom of the "Father of Waters," they drifted to the Gulf of Mexico.

All this western region was claimed for Louis XIV., and, in his honor, named Louisiana.[1] But the French were not permitted to enter and occupy unmolested the lands which England claimed by right of discovery. Eight years after the first French colony was planted in America, a ship from Virginia appeared in Acadia, took by force a few French colonists off of Mt. Desert Island, and carried a portion of them to Virginia. Sixteen years later, Quebec was conquered by the English and held for three years.[2] When William of Orange became King of England, he involved the English in his struggle with France. The English and French colonists were quick to take up the Old World quarrel. Then there occurred in America what has been called King William's War (1689). The French colonists at this time numbered about twelve thousand, and the English, perhaps two hundred and forty thousand.[3] But the French had thousands of Indian allies, so that the American wars amounted to more than a petty struggle between a few colonists. Owing to the presence of the Indian allies, every war was accompanied by frightful Indian massacres. The theatre of operations

[1] In 1717 Illinois was detached from New France and incorporated with Louisiana. Under these two names all the French possessions in America were included. Vide Davis in "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. V. p. 35.

[2] Ibid. [3] Swinton, p. 92.

as usually in Canada, or, if the French invaded English minions, it was usually in the Lake Champlain region.

The eighteenth century had barely opened when the merican colonists again became involved in war, called ueen Anne's War, but in Europe it was the War of the panish Succession. In this war, fighting occurred between ie Carolinas and Florida as well as between New Eng- nd and Canada. The result, after an eleven years' truggle, was the surrender of Nova Scotia and the Hud- on Bay region by France to England. In like manner, ie War of the Austrian Succession had its counterpart in ing George's War among the colonies. Louisburg, the ibraltar of America, was stormed and taken by the nglish, but no territory was allowed to change hands by ie treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle which closed the war. One tremely valuable result was that the interests of the nglish colonists became knitted together, and thus did ey test their strength and unconsciously prepare them- lves for the great struggle that was to follow. During this time, the French were extremely active in extend- their dominions in the West, and thus forestall the glish in taking actual possession of this vast territory. e lake shore region became dotted with forts, missions, l trading posts, the more important being Frontenac, Pointe on Lake Superior, Sault de Ste. Marie, Mackinaw, een Bay, and Niagara.

Ere the seventeenth century closed, the Mississippi d been explored to its mouth; LaSalle had failed in his tempt to plant a colony on the shores of the Gulf, but ttlements had been started—one on the Illinois, by La- lle, and one at Biloxi (southern shore of Louisiana) by rville. For another half century, the French were busy lding a line of forts to connect Biloxi with Quebec, and

thus establish their power in the Mississippi basin and the great lake region. Cadillac commenced a permanent settlement at Detroit, and Bienville founded New Orleans.[1]

In time, the French had a chain of sixty forts and trading stations joining the two extreme points. "As the trade of the Valley of the Mississippi developed, routes of travel began to be defined. Three of these were especially used—one by way of Lake Erie, the Maumee, and the Wabash, and then down the Ohio; another by way of Lake Michigan, the Chicago River, a portage to the Illinois, and down that river; a third by way of Green Bay, Fox River, and the Wisconsin—all three being independent of LaSalle's route from the foot of Lake Michigan to the Kankakee and Illinois rivers."[2] Thus did the first part of the eighteenth century witness the development of this western region.

But England watched with a jealous eye these movements of the French. To offset the fort at Niagara, the English garrisoned Oswego, whereupon the French built a fort at Crown Point. Although the French governor had warned the governor of Pennsylvania to prevent any English from trading beyond the Alleghanies on penalty of seizure, although the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle provided for a commission to decide the dispute over this western boundary, the English government granted to a company six hundred thousand acres in the Ohio Valley, and traders were encouraged to enter there. The dispute for this rich territory then assumed warlike proportions.

Both sides began to make arrangements to meet the coming storm. Another line of forts, extending from Niagara to the juncture of the Alleghany and Mononga

[1] Drake: "The Making of the Great West," New York, 1887, p. 12
[2] "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. V. p. 7.

hela Rivers, was commenced by the French. The latter was an important point for both parties, as it fully commanded the disputed region. The English were the first to reach this place, and began the erection of a fort; but the French soon appeared on the scene, and compelled the

Montcalm.

mer to withdraw, and thereupon began the erection of rt Duquesne, now Pittsburg. A bloody struggle for this gion now became inevitable. In fact, the French and dian War, that lasted nine years, was now begun.[1]

At this time, the English colonists numbered eleven

[1] Known in European history as the "Seven Years' War."

hundred and sixty thousand whites, while the French in both New France and Louisiana could muster only about one-half as many;[1] but as usual the latter were much more closely allied with the various Indian tribes, and had also fortified their territory. In this way, the forces of the two

Death of Wolfe.

were rendered more nearly equal. It was at this time that the name of the grandest character in the early annals of our country appears upon the pages of history. George Washington, commander of the Virginia militia, had

[1] Vide Parkman: "Montcalm and Wolfe," Boston, 1884, Vol. I. p. 20.

already performed his daring mission to the French commander to warn him to leave the Ohio Valley, when the latter began the erection of Fort Duquesne. The events of this war can not be given in detail. It was long, and cost both England and her colonies many brave men and much money. One of the bloody incidents of this war was the celebrated Braddock's Defeat, the details of which can be learned from any school history. The great and crowning event of the war was the daring capture of Quebec by the English General Wolfe, in which battle both Wolfe and the French commander, Montcalm, lost their lives.

The results of the war were of great moment to our country, for the French power in America was completely broken. By the treaty of Paris, New France as well as all of Louisiana east of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, was ceded to the English. Now Spain had joined France in this war and the English had captured Havana. In order to regain that city, Spain was forced to cede Florida to Great Britain. As a compensation to Spain for this bad luck, France ceded New Orleans and all of her vast possessions west of the Mississippi to that nation. Thus we see how, for the time being, Spain and England shared unequally between them the entire American continent.[1]

The French and Indian War was of still greater importance to the English colonists themselves. They learned that there was strength in unity, and that they, united, could raise a formidable army, capable of coping with some of the powers of the Old World. When negotiations were pending for the Peace of Paris, when the English envoy demanded the surrender of so much of French territory as a condition of that treaty, the French minister of foreign affairs frankly warned the British that

1 "Montcalm and Wolfe," Vol. II. pp. 404–6.

the cession of Canada to England meant, at no distant day, the independence of the North American colonies.[1] The English, insisting upon their demands, did not heed the warning, and that train of events that led to such momentous results for all Americans was soon commenced.

Samuel Adams.

English statesmen could but see the growing spirit of independence among the colonies, and consequently took measures to counteract the same. Those who supposed that the inborn spirit of freedom could be checked by oppression and hostility seem, for the time being, to have

[1] Bancroft, Vol. II. p. 564.

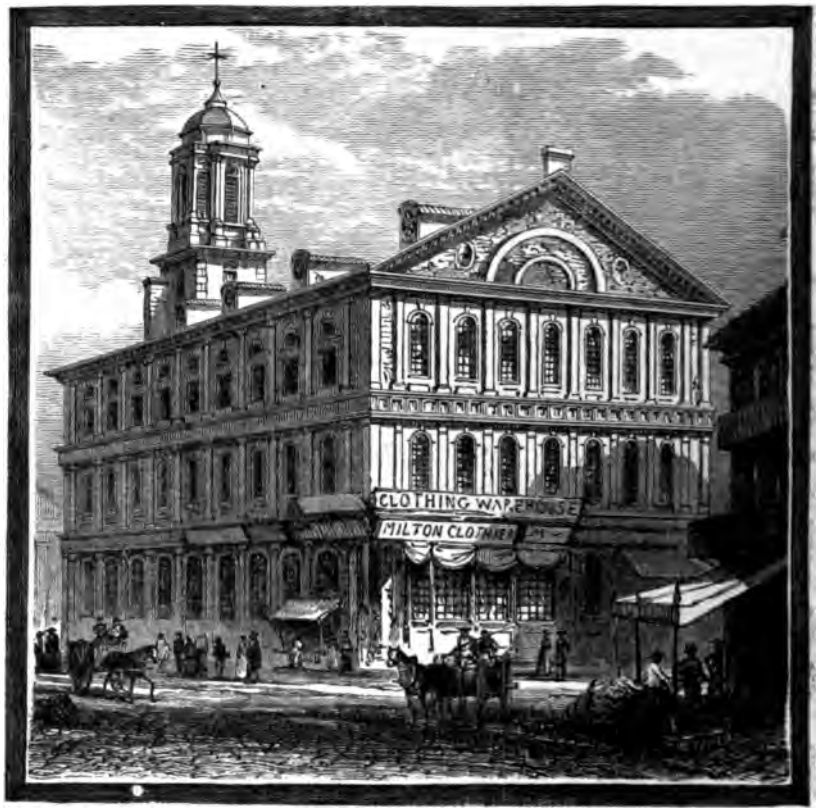
been in the ascendency in Parliament. The government listened, not to the warnings of Burke, Pitt, and other humane and able statesmen, but continued to enact oppressive measures. We have already noticed the Navigation Act, by which the British government restricted colonial trade by compelling all exports to be shipped in English vessels. To enforce these laws restricting commerce, "writs of assistance" were authorized, commanding and empowering the colonial officials to enforce them.[1] These acts aroused the fiery eloquence of James Otis, and the fearless opposition of John Adams, and other illustrious patriots of those times.

When at last the famous "Stamp Act" became a law, which asserted the right of the English Parliament to tax her colonists although they had no representation in that Parliament, the whole colonial population denounced its injustice. All the prominent colonial legislative assemblies declared their opposition to this act. All of the colonies were willing to tax themselves and thus help bear the burden of the debt incurred by the French and Indian War, but they denied the right of Parliament to tax them, while they were unrepresented. Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia was chosen to bear this message to the English government, while the eloquence of Patrick Henry and of Samuel Adams urged the people to protect their rights at all hazards.

In 1765, a colonial congress was held, in which nine colonies were represented, to deliberate upon methods for opposing the enforcement of the Stamp Act. The stamp officers resigned; but at this moment Parliament, listening to the arguments of those friends of the colonists and of justice, Pitt and Burke, and having equal regard for the

[1] Ibid. 546.

feelings of the London merchants whose trade was injured, repealed the obnoxious act. The question was not, however, settled. The right of taxing the colonists was still held by England, and as persistently denied by the colonists. As if to test the question further, Parliament put a tax on tea and several other articles.



Faneuil Hall, Boston.

Troops were finally quartered upon the colonists to enforce the laws. This led to the shedding of the first blood of the Revolution in New York, during a riot between the soldiers and the "Sons of Liberty." It also led to the "Boston Massacre," in which a number of per-

sons were killed or wounded (1770). The tax was finally removed from everything except tea, but it was not the amount of the tax that the colonists were contending for, but the principle of the thing. Accordingly, when the East India Company's ships appeared in the American

John Hancock.

harbor, they had no sale for tea although it was offered at a lower rate than its current price in England—but there was one fatal objection, there was a tax upon it. The famous Boston tea party convinced Parliament that the colonists were in earnest (1763).

The changing of the port of Massachusetts from Bos-

ton to Salem was an act of revenge on the part of Parliament. The first Continental Congress finally met (1774), and "agreed upon a declaration of rights, recommended the suspension of all commercial intercourse with England, and sent a petition to the king."[1] General Gage was at once made military governor of Massachusetts, but his force was not sufficient to enforce the laws. At Concord Bridge, near Boston, the first engagement of the war occurred, known as the Battle of Lexington (1775). The result is a common-place of American history.

It is not necessary, nor would it be in keeping with our object to do more than recall a few salient points in the Revolutionary war that now ensued. George Washington was appointed to the command of the military forces of the colonists, and soon gathered twenty thousand recruits around Boston, fortifying Bunker Hill or (Breeds' Hill), commanding that city. Though the Americans were worsted in the battle that followed, the British were compelled to evacuate within a year. Next England hired German mercenary troops, known as Hessians, for service in America; but the colonists retaliated by publishing their Declaration of Independence. The struggle that now ensued was a long and burdensome one for the colonists, but the Continental Congress was inspired with courage to defend American liberty to the last.

We are not able to record any brilliant successes for the Americans until Burgoyne surrendered his entire force to the American General Gates, at Saratoga (1777). This however was a double success, for it induced the French to recognize the independence of the colonies and to send them some assistance. Indeed, LaFayette had already offered his services to the colonists and was fighting in the

[1] Swinton, p. 118.

American ranks. In the South, the American force under Nathaniel Greene was by no means capable of meeting the British under Cornwallis, in open battle; but he did inflict many heavy blows on the Royalist cause. Every one knows how Cornwallis had intrenched himself in supposed security at Yorktown, but here he was suddenly besieged by the American land forces, under Washington, while a French fleet prevented escape by way of the sea, and con-

Washington Crossing the Delaware.

sequently he was forced to a humiliating surrender. This event insured success to the American cause (1781).

It was two years after the surrender of Cornwallis before a treaty of peace was ratified and the army disbanded. By that treaty, England retained only Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, while Spain received Florida. The United States was acknowledged as free and independent. Thus a new nation had been brought into being—a nation

that was destined to occupy a greater stretch of territ than any other (except Russia) and to rival the power the old world in culture and importance. The territor this Republic, at first, however, extended only from great lakes on the north to Florida on the south and fr

La Fayette.

the sea to the Mississippi from east to west. When eighteenth century closed upon this new nation, its popu tion numbered over five and a quarter millions,[1] and tlers were pouring over the Alleghanies into the Mississi Valley.

[1] Labberton Op. cit. p. 173.

The States were at first governed by Articles of Confederation, but these were, after a few years' trial, replaced by the new constitution (1787), under which George Washington became first president and John Adams first vice-president, while Hamilton, Knox, Jefferson, and Randolph formed the first cabinet. The finances were placed upon a solid basis by Hamilton and the first national bank was established within two years. With the retirement of Washington, the old Federalist party elected John Adams to the office of president. His single term of office was rendered unpopular by the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws and the revision of the Naturalization Laws, as well as by trouble with the French Directory. In the last year of the century, the capital of our country was removed from Philadelphia to its present site, the newly built city of Washington.

With Thomas Jefferson, the old Republican party came into power. At this time, negotiations began with France for a great strip of territory west of the Mississippi, known as Louisiana. At the close of the French and Indian War, it will be remembered, all this territory had been ceded to Spain, and it remained a Spanish possession during the remainder of that century. As our present century dawned upon the young republic, rumors reached the halls of Congress to the effect that Spain was secretly conveying to the French government a large portion of her North American territory, in fact all that portion bordering on the Mississippi river. This was likely to greatly interfere with the commercial interests of the States, and measures were at once adopted to protect our rights and interests.

The transference of the territory had indeed taken place two years before France would acknowledge it, for Spain was authorized to hold and govern Louisiana for

France until such a time as the latter would deem it advisable to make the transfer known. Now, by a former treaty, Americans were permitted to land and store their goods at New Orleans until they could be shipped to foreign markets, but this right was suddenly denied them. When we realize that in those days, this was the only easy outlet for the commerce of this western region, we can calcu-

John Adams.

late the great amount of damage that this was to the North-west Territory and the Ohio Valley. France was at this time on the verge of war with England. It took no great amount of argument to prove to Napoleon that America, by joining with the British, could easily snatch all this territory from him, and the American government seriously contemplated such a step.[1]

[1] For a full account of this transaction, vide Gazarre: "History of

Napoleon suddenly determined to cede the whole of Louisiana and West Florida to the United States government, in order to prevent it falling into English possession. Knowing well the value of this territory, he remarked; "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride."[1] This remark shows the motive that Napoleon had in ceding this territory to the United States. The price paid for this additional territory was eighty million francs, or twenty million dollars, one-fourth of which was offset by an American claim against France.

The territory thus gained by the United States embraced our present states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, and parts of Kansas and Colorado; also Dakota and parts of Montana, Wyoming, and Indian territories—a region remarkable for its resources and the fertility of its soil. The present state of Louisiana was organized into the "Territory of Orleans," and the balance of the purchase into the "District of Louisiana."[2] Originally a number of the Atlantic states claimed possession of broad belts of western land upon the terms of their old English charters, which gave them territory reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Three years after the close of the Revolution, this western territory was ceded to the general government; and one year later, all that portion surrounded by the Ohio, the Mississippi, the great lakes, and Pennsylvania was organized into the North-west Territory, Congress at the same time declaring that slavery must not be introduced into this region. Now, while emigrants from New

Louisiana," New Orleans, 1885. Vol. III. pp. 399, 447 *et seq.*

[1] Ibid. p. 525. [2] Swinton, pp. 220-1.

England were pouring into this new territory, sett from Virginia and North Carolina were finding home the regions south of the Ohio. Among these latter pion Daniel Boone stands formost.[1] Their settlements cent around Lexington in the "blue grass region." The re of this westward migration was the admission of two

Benedict Arnold.

states into the United States—Kentucky, nine years a the close of the Revolution, and Tennessee, four years l still. The balance of the territory between Georgia the Mississippi became the "Mississippi Territory."

In 1800, the North-west Territory had a popula of forty-five thousand inhabitants; two years later,

[1] Drake: "The Making of the Great West," pp. 165–6.

eastern portion, possessing a population of sixty thousand, became the State of Ohio. Fourteen and sixteen years later, Indiana and Illinois, respectively, were organized into separate states. The Territory of Orleans became

Paul Jones.

state of Louisiana nine years after the purchase of Louisiana from France. Mississippi and Alabama were states before the close of the second decade of the present century. Thus we see nearly the whole region east of the Mississippi forming into a compact union of states.

The Republic was allowed to enjoy only thirty years of peace, before trouble arose with England. Napoleon's "Berlin Decree," followed by England's "Orders in Council," closed the ports of Europe to American commerce. Then, too, England's claim of right to search all vessels for English-born seamen, whom she might force into service, caused much greater ill-feeling between the United States and that nation. At last, the American ports were closed against the offending European powers. This action further injured American commerce. Many men were thrown out of employment, and "grass grew on the idle wharves of New York and Philadelphia." The country was divided upon the subject of war. The hostile faction ruled, and the war of 1812 began.

For two years, the Americans were successful enough on the seas and great lakes to gain at least the respect of England and foreign powers. In fact, Commodore Perry swept the British from the lakes and captured Toronto. Upper Canada was occupied. The following year, the Americans were victors at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, but were finally forced out of Canada. Then, the new capital being left unguarded, the British General Ross sailing up the Potomac, captured and burned it. The peace party was now in the ascendency, and the treaty of Ghent was signed to close the war (1814); but before the news had reached the far South, General Jackson had fought his famous battle of New Orleans, in which the British were repulsed with great loss.

This war had involved Spain; because the Spanish governor of Florida had not only rendered the British some assistance, but had also incited the Indians to make war against the Americans and had furnished them with arms. General Jackson was for four years engaged in

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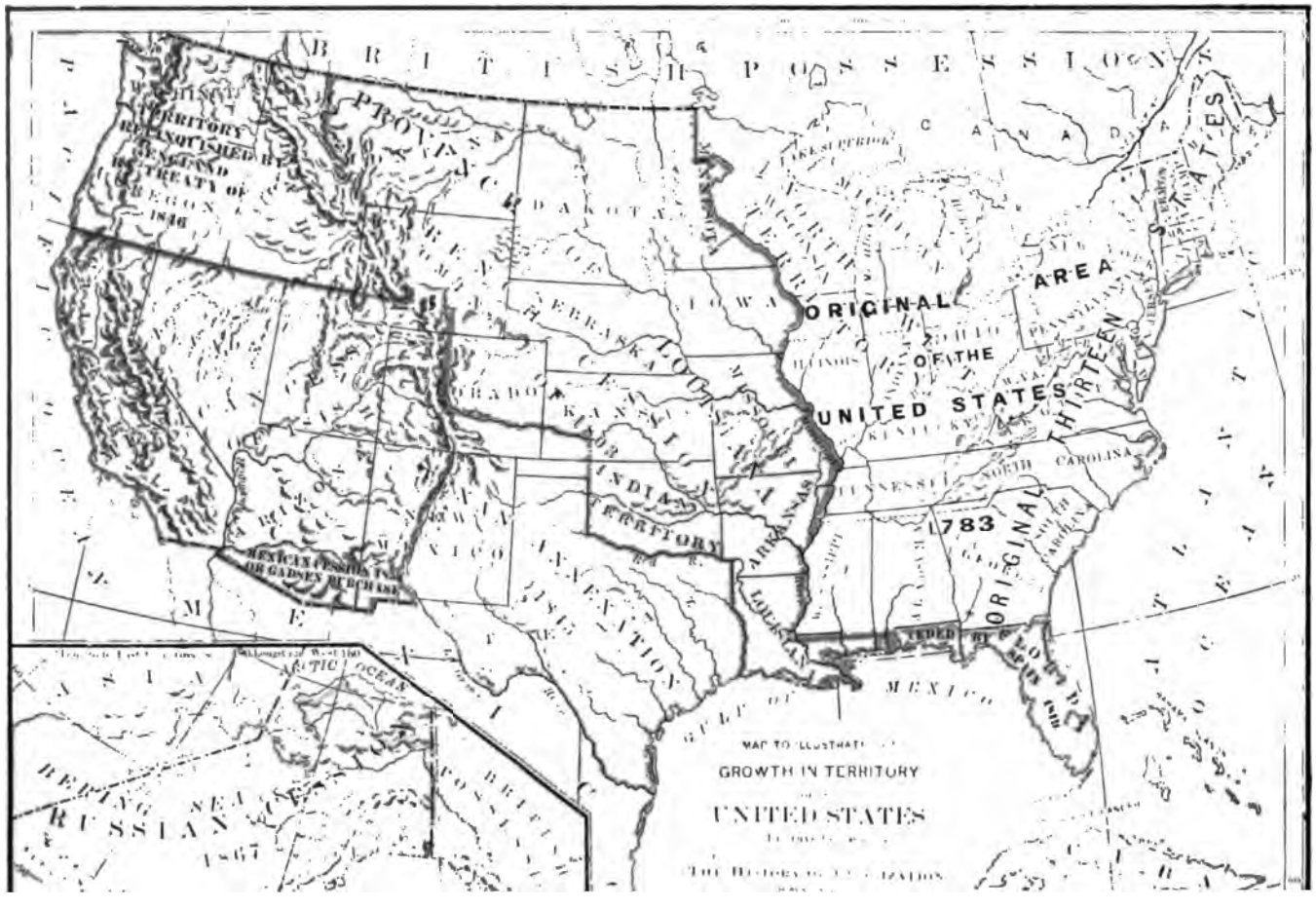
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
CANADA
ORIGINAL AREA OF THE UNITED STATES
ORIGINAL THIRTEEN STATES
1783
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
GROWTH IN TERRITORY
UNITED STATES
RUSSIAN
1867
ARCTIC OCEAN
BERING SEA
MEXICAN CESSION IN OR GADSEN PURCHASE
TERRITORY RELINQUISHED BY ENGLAND BY TREATY OF OREGON 1846
DAKOTA
IOWA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
INDIAN TERRITORY
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
MISSOURI
ILLINOIS
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MEXICO
ANNEXATION
1845
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ASIA

conquering these hostile tribes. At last, he captured the Spanish town of Pensacola and Fort Barrancas. Soon after this, a treaty of peace with Spain was signed, by the terms of which, upon the payment of certain claims by the United States, the Floridas were ceded to the latter

James Madison.

power. Florida, however, did not become a state until 1845.[1]

The Louisiana purchase had not been completed, be-

1 Vide Fairbanks: "History of Florida," Philadelphia, 1871, p. 260 *et seq.*

fore our government took steps to learn what sort of a region this great West and Northwest was. Napoleon had believed that it abounded in all manner of wealth; while Jefferson believed that through this region lay the long sought westward path to China. No one knew the distance from the Mississippi to the Pacific, for this whole region was a trackless wilderness to the white man.[1] Long previous to this time, Russia had sent her explorers to the coast of Alaska, thus founding her claim to that fur-producing country, while the Hudson Bay Company was becoming familiar with all that is now British North America.

Above New Orleans, St. Louis was the only town of any note in the great region of Louisiana. It was peopled with a great medly of mankind, drawn thither by the profits of trade with this western region, whose only paths were the Indian trails or the streams that brought its waters to the Mississippi. Beyond this, the only whites were the trapper, the trader, and that harbinger of civilization, the solitary pioneer. How extensively these inglorious trappers and backwoodsmen explored the great West we cannot tell; but Jonathan Carver was the first to set his face westward from the great lake region for the sole purpose of exploration.[2] Still he barely reached the western boundary of our present state of Minnesota.

About four years after the birth of our country, when American commerce was springing up, a company of New Englanders, forming the plan of opening trade between the Pacific coast and China in order to procure tea first hand for American consumption, sent two vessels around the Cape to gather cargoes of furs from the northwestern

[1] Drake: "Making of the Great West," p. 154 *et seq.*

[2] Drake, Op. cit. p. 150

oast and trade them in China for tea. About four years ıter, upon a second voyage, Captain Gray, of the ship olumbia, entered the Columbia River from the Pacific, aming it from his ship. Upon this voyage the United

Andrew Jackson.

tates based its claim to the territory, that now forms 'regon, Washington Territory, and Idaho. There was, owever, at a later day, some dispute as to our title to this egion.[1]

[1] Vide H. H. Bancroft: "History of the Pacific States," Vol. XXII. 259 *et seq.*

Even then, more was known about Kamtchatka or the Nile than about this region west of the Mississippi. The North American continent was occupied by four governments when Jefferson became president. He had long cherished the plan of exploring the Missouri to its source, hoping to find an easy passage across to the Columbia River, and thus a short, practical western route for commerce with China.[1] Thus originated the expedition of Lewis and Clark. They left St. Louis for their long journey while that town was yet a French, or rather a Spanish possession.[2]

Nearly four years were occupied in making the trip to the Pacific and returning to Washington. It was a memorable expedition, and opened up an enormous region to immigrants who were ready to follow. It furnished our government with the first reliable information as to the extensive and valuable possession it had purchased from a foreign power.[3] As a further result, this expedition was followed by the organization of the Pacific Fur Company, which built the first trading post in Oregon, naming it Astoria, in honor of the projector of the company, John Jacob Astor. The territory of Colorado and the Arkansas valley had already been explored by Lieutenant Pike who first brought back the information that gold had been found in the Rockies.

The troublous times of the Napoleonic era in Europe and the tedious task of adjusting affairs afterwards gave Mexico a chance to declare its independence from Spain. This was done six years after the final banishment of the first Napoleon. Then Mexico included Texas and all of

1 Drake Op. cit. p. 187.
2 That is, Spain still held Louisiana for France.
3 Bancroft, Op. cit. Vol. XXIII. pp. 6-86.

what is now South-western United States. It was an immense region, abundantly rich in the precious metals. During the early years of the eighteenth century, the first settlement was made in Texas by Spaniards. During the latter part of the same century, San Diego, California, was

Tyler.

founded, noting the first occupancy of California by the Spaniards.[1] It will be further noticed that, although Drake had been the first to discover the northern coast of California, the English lost their claim to the territory by failing to occupy it.

[1] Hittell: "History of California," San Francisco, Vol. I. 309.

When Florida was ceded to the United States, many of our statesmen understood that the Rio Grande was to be the north-eastern boundary of Spanish America, but the Sabine was finally settled upon as such. So that Texas, as a part of Mexico, remained under Spanish rule until the two became independent. Presidents John Quincy Adams and Jackson tried to buy Texas from Mexico, but failed. At last, the Texans asserted and maintained their independence of Mexico. General Sam Houston was made President of the "Lone Star State." So loudly did it clamor for admission to the United States, that our country became divided on the question. When Polk was elected President, however, it was regarded as a victory for those who favored the annexation. Finally Congress took the matter up; and, in spite of warning from Mexico that such an action would be considered a ground for war, passed a resolution annexing Texas as a state among the states of our Union.

About this time Captain J. C. Fremont had been sent by the government to find a new or southern route across the continent to Oregon. While in California, he received word to protect the interests of those Americans who had drifted across to the Pacific coast.[1] Even before the pioneers in these regions had heard of the trouble between Mexico and the United States, the Californians had raised the standard of revolt against the Mexican government. The Americans were foremost in this action, and, no doubt, Fremont and other American officials countenanced it and favored the independence of California; and it must further be remembered that there were agents from both

1 Bancroft ("History of the Pacific States," Vol. XVII,) and Hittell ("History of California,") cast serious reflections on the actions of Fremont, intimating that he turned his expedition into a filibustering one.

France and England anxious to gain a foothold in this region for their respective governments.

The war with Mexico that followed the events just mentioned lasted about two years (1846–1848). Generals Taylor and Scott were usually victorious, and our flag

Fremont.

was soon floating over the Mexican capital itself. When General Kearney, who commanded the Californian expedition, reached the Pacific coast, he found Fremont and Stockton already in possession of that section. The treaty of Gaudaloupe Hidalgo, which closed the war, transferred Upper California and New Mexico to the United States,

and fixed the Rio Grande as the boundary between the two republics. Mexico was paid fifteen million dollars for this immense territory. Five years later, the "Gads-

Taylor.

den Purchase" was made, by which, for ten million dollars,[1] our government received further concession of territory, including a large part of Arizona, and fixing the southern boundary of the United States as at present.[2]

[1] The United States also relinquished several million dollars in claims against Mexico for depredations committed by raiders.

[2] Labberton: "General History," p. 178.

The Pacific Fur Company was using capital without stint in order to make the enterprise a financial success; but it was regarded with an evil eye by the British North-west Company. When, thererefore, the war of 1812 began, the North-west Company took measures to crush its American competitor. The small band of traders at Astoria, receiving no protection from its government, at last sold the entire interests of the Company to its rival.[1]

Very soon disputes arose between the British and American governments as to the territory of Oregon. The United States claimed it by right of discovery, exploration, and first settlement. Still the two governments agreed upon a joint occupancy for a term of years. Then came the celebrated "Monroe Doctrine." President Monroe, in his annual message, declared "that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power."[2] It became all the more necessary, then, to settle the question at issue between our government and that of Great Britain. After a series of negotiations, lasting nearly a quarter of a century, the forty-ninth parellel of north latitude was fixed upon as the boundary of this western region.[3]

In this way, the United States gained another vast addition of territory, comprising the present state of Oregon and the Territories of Washington and Idaho. This gave us a compact territory, and it seemed as if the great American republic had at last attained its growth in

[1] Greenhow: "History of Oregon and California," New, York, 1845, p. 301 *et seq.*

[2] President's Message, Dec. 2, 1823.

[3] Barrows: "Oregon," Boston, 1884.

territory, but such was not the case. Shortly before t breaking out of our Civil War, it became a common beli that Russia was not finding her American possessio profitable, as they were too far from the central gover ment.

James Monroe.

Almost since the discovery of Alaska by an expe tion sent out by Catharine I., the territory had been oc pied by the Russian-American Company. Quite a tra had sprung up with the Americans of the Pacific co after the discovery of gold in California, so that weste traders and fishers knew the value of that territory as a fi

producing region. About the time that the Russian American Company's third charter expired, there was an attempt made to organize a Pacific company that might control a share of the Russian-American trade. The agitation of this subject caused the American government to study the resources of Alaska, and finally led to negotiations for its purchase.[1]

The Civil War intervened, and our government was fully occupied with weightier matters. At the close of the war, while Mr. Seward was secretary of state, the subject of purchase was again brought before the people; and, after considerable diplomatic maneuvering, Alaska, free from all charters and incumbrances, was ceded to the United States for the sum of seven million, two hundred thousand dollars. Thus our country was enlarged by four thousand miles of coast-line,[2] five hundred and seventy thousand square miles of territory,[3] by valuable fishing tracts, and by mining and timber lands of unknown value—in fact that was no mean bargain by which a territory was added to the United States that already pays a yearly revenue of over half a million.[4] There were those who at the time, however, considered it a foolish waste of money.

In tracing the growth of our country from the thirteen original colonies that rebelled against Great Britain, to its present vast dimensions we have necessarily avoided much of the internal history that was of moment to our government. We must glance at these important movements. We have seen that the question of slavery was, early in this

[1] Vide H. H. Bancroft: "History of the Pacific States," Vol. XXVIII. p. 590 *et seq.*

[2] This is exclusive of islands. Including the numerous islands, the coast-line is estimated at over eleven thousand miles.

[3] See Sumner's speech in his "Works," Boston, 1875, Vol. XI.

[4] Vide Seward: "The Diplomatic History of the War for the Union," Boston, 1884

century, agitating Europe more or less. Early in the seventeenth century, the emancipation of slaves had its advocates in America.[1] From slight beginnings in old colonial times, the question grew to enormous proportions. When the North-western Territory was organized, a clause, as we have seen, was inserted in its articles of organization forbidding slavery within its boundaries. From that time, the question was sure to arise whenever a portion of that territory applied for admission into the Union as a state.

In this way, there arose the custom of pairing off states. When one was admitted on condition of no slavery in its borders, another territory was sure to apply demanding the right of fostering slavery in its midst. Thus were admitted the pairs of states—Vermont and Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, Louisiana and Indiana. Then Alabama was admitted as a slave state. When Maine was finally admitted as a free state, Missouri had already applied for admission as a slave state. But the balance, destroyed by the admission of Alabama, was now restored, and there was a bitter fight over the admission of any more slave states.

Four sessions of Congress were occupied with this question. Finally Henry Clay offered a resolution which, when modified by amendments and restrictions, became a law. By it Missouri became a state "on equal footing with the original states."[2] But Congress at the same time declared that there should never be slavery in that portion of the Territory of Louisiana north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, north latitude. This was the celebrated "Missouri Compromise." In this way, a line was drawn

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[1] Vide Wilson: "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," Boston, 1872, Vol. I. p. 9. *et seq.*

[2] Colton: "Works of Henry Clay," Vol. I. p. 282.

between the free and slave portions of our country. If it were in our field to dwell upon the agitation of this question both North and South, our space would not permit it. We can only note that the North was pretty generally opposed to the extension of slavery, and the South favored it.

It is evident that in the growing importance of this question is contained the germs of that great conflict which was soon to convulse the land. The question was kept alive in Congress by frequent applications of territories for admission as states. Thus Arkansas and Michigan were paired. After a few years Florida and Texas became states, and they were soon offset by Iowa and Wisconsin. In 1850, further compromises between the opposing factions were brought before Congress. We have reached the day of great men in the history of the life of our Republic. Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Chase, Davis, Sumner, Beecher, Seward, Stanton, Lincoln, and hundreds of others stand conspicuous in the annals of the time. The halls of Congress then resounded with burning words of eloquence such as are wont to inspire only remarkable men in the support of questions of great moment.

The various sides of the all-absorbing questions of those days were supported by men of almost equal powers and eloquence. At last, the Missouri Compromise was undermined by other compromises that rendered it, in effect, null and void; for Congress empowered all territories to control, by a vote of their residents, the question of slavery within their borders. And as a *finale* to the heated discussions on this point, California was admitted as a state. It was not until four years later, however, that it became established that the adoption of these later compromise bills abrogated the Missouri Compromise.[1]

[1] Op. cit. Vol. II. p. 231 *et seq.*

The organization of Kansas and Nebraska into territories (1854) marks another stage reached in the decision of this ever rising question. The bill for organization was passed, but it was especially provided that the inhabitants

John Brown.

of the territory should decide by vote the question of slavery in their state. As a consequence, the two political factions centered their energies upon Kansas. Societies were formed for the express purpose of sending emigrants

into this new territory, who were expected to vote in accordance with the wishes of the section from which they came. From the South and from the North, streams of immigrants flowed toward the west, filling the territory with a divided population and almost causing civil war. Indeed, John Brown and his four sons (one killed in the battle of Black Jack) had several skirmishes with bands of raiders from Missouri, in which a number of lives were lost.[1] But the career of that enthusiastic leader was brought to a sudden close by his foolhardy invasion of Virginia and seizure of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, in hopes that the slaves would rally around him, and he could thus enforce their freedom. Kansas, however, allied itself with the free states.

Before Kansas became a state, a presidential election occurred, in which the leading issue was virtually Slavery or no Slavery. The election of President Lincoln was regarded by both political factions as a signal for civil war. This was followed by the secession from the Union of South Carolina and preparations for a civil war that cost more lives and property than the most gifted in prophecy could have foretold in those first days of strife. Before the time came for the inauguration of Lincoln, six other states—Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Georgia, and Texas—had joined the standard of secession, had organized themselves into the "Confederate States of America," and had elected Jefferson Davis president of the Confederacy.

The first act of the Confederate government was to gain possession of the arsenals and military stores in the South. This led to the attack and surrender of Fort Sumter, recorded as the first event in the War of the Rebellion; while a week later, a mob attacked a regiment

[1] See Greeley: "The American Conflict," Vol. I. p. 281.

of troops in Baltimore, and there the first blood of the Civil War was shed. Within two months more, Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee had joined the Confederacy, while in the remaining slave states—Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky—the majority

Jefferson Davis.

for the Union was fortunately sufficient to hold them from that step. Richmond, Virginia, was then made the capital of the Confederate States.

It would be useless for us to attempt to give in detail the events of this great struggle. Nor is it necessary, bearing in mind the object of our present writing. We will content ourselves with simply sketching the course of

events. Our object is only to gather a birds-eye-view, so to speak, of the growth of our country; only incidentally are we to note the great struggle between the two sections, to learn enough of its history only to understand the story of its growth in culture, to be told later. Many great names in history now make their appearance. The veteran General Scott was still commander-in-chief of the Union forces, though he soon gave way to younger officers who were better able to take the field. Generals Butler, McClellan, Pope, and Burnside were conspicuous among the early leaders of the Union forces, while Beauregard, Johnston, and Jackson were just as prominent Confederates.

Later, we hear of Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, and the Confederate General Robert E. Lee, to whom John Brown surrendered at Harper's Ferry. In civil life, we find such names as Stanton, Chase, Seward, and Sumner. Of course there were a host of others who still live enshrined in the memories of their countrymen. It was a period of great men, and the above were great among the great. The war centered about the Confederate capital Richmond, in the East; while Kentucky, Missouri, Tennessee, and the Mississippi regions were the theatres of military operations in the West. The first important battle was that of Bull Run, and through the defeat of the Union forces, Congress was led to appropriate five hundred million dollars, and to call for half a million troops. Then it was that both sides began to realize the enormity of the breach that had occurred.

While General Grant was busy planning the conquest of the West, the opening of the Mississippi, and the severing of the Confederate territory, the seaports were blockaded; but the attempts on Richmond were failures. Then,

too, on account of the Trent affair, Great Britain came perilously near declaring war on the North. The Confederacy was recognized as a belligerent power by both England and France; and hopes of recognition as an independent power cheered the Confederates in their desperate struggle. During these dark days, the best friend

Fort Sumter in Ruins.

the United States had in Europe was autocratic Russia, then under the enlightened government of Alexander II. When, during the second year of his administration, Lincoln issued his celebrated Proclamation of Emancipation, every northern man realized that there was no longer any compromise short of submission by the South that could settle the breach. The early part of the second year of the war witnessed the remarkable naval battle between the Merrimac and the Monitor, resulting in a victory for the latter and for the Union cause.

The third year of the war was ushered in by a long, discouraging series of disasters for the northern army. In fact, the plans of the Union commanders had failed at every point. But this was just before the dawn of a series of brilliant successes, destined to break the power of the Confederate government. The northern army, under General Meade, centered a strong force at Gettysburg, where it confronted the Confederate army invading the North under General Lee. A two days' battle decided the victory for the Union forces. The next day, news came of the surrender of Vicksburg to General Grant. Five days later, Port Hudson surrendered to General Banks, and the Mississippi at last "ran unvexed to the sea."

The Confederacy came near winning a great success in East Tennessee this same year, where, by the fortunes of war, Rosecrans' forces were besieged in Chattanooga, and were nearly starved out. General Grant was however placed in command of the Union forces, and ably seconded by Hooker and Sherman, raised the siege and drove the Confederate forces to the south. At this time, occurred the famous Battle of Lookout Mountain. The movements of General Grant had been so successful and decisive that

he was made Lieutenant General and commander of all the Union forces; and thereupon began those great maneuvers that brought the war to a close. While the Commander-in-chief was busy on the Potomac, conquering the forces of Virginia and hemming in the capital city of Rich-

Farragut.

mond, Sherman was making his celebrated "march to the sea." Then the two armies were in shape to cooperate against the Confederates.

Early in April of the fourth year of the war, the stars

d stripes were again unfurled over Richmond, and the vil War was rapidly drawing to a close. A few days er, Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court ouse, and Johnston, knowing it was useless to continue e struggle, surrendered his army to Sherman. By the d of May, the few remaining, straggling southern forces d surrendered, and the Civil War was over. A gloom of dness was cast over the North in the midst of rejoicing er the surrender of Lee and the promised end of the ar, when tidings were borne over the land with electric pidity that the great leader of the nation had been shot wn by an assassin.

Abraham Lincoln had gained the love of the North d the respect of the South; and it is gratifying to the storian to record that the hand that so brutally murdered r President was not instigated by the leaders of the bellion. It was the act of a band of fanatics who had spired to slay the successful leaders in this struggle. is also gratifying to note that amnesty was granted to arly all those who had rebelled against the government d that no executions followed the victory of the Northern ates.

What we have had to say of our Civil War is scarcely serving of the name of an outline even, but it will serve r purpose. Let it be noted that a difference between se two great sections of our country can be traced back the very beginning of colonization in America. We can e that the new Union, cemented by so much blood and asure, will prove to be founded on the rocks so as to h-stand the storms of centuries. In the course of the r. two questions—slavery and state rights—were forever led. But the work of reconstructing the Southern tes was a long and arduous task, in which President

Johnson and Congress could not agree. But Congress ha its way; the states that had seceded were organized int five military districts; the freedmen were at last veste with full powers of citizenship; and to close the whol drama of rebellion, the various states have been re-admit

General Sherman.

ted into the Union upon complying with certain requir ments imposed by Congress. These terms were that tl states should adopt the fourteenth amendment, and shou present to Congress an acceptable constitution framed l a convention of delegates "elected by the male citizens

of whatever race, color, or previous condition", upon the acceptance of which by Congress they became states. Tennessee was the first to comply with these terms, but some of the states preferred to submit to military rule for five years rather than accept the same.

The great Civil War closed with the government burdened with a debt of more than twenty eight hundred million dollars. It was indeed at an enormous price of blood and treasure that our country was re-united into one whole, whose bands of union, let us hope, can never be broken and whose dimensions dwarf every other nation on the globe, except the British and the Russian Empires. Although shaken from sea-coast to mountain summit by this great internal struggle, the growth of the great nation as a whole was scarcely checked.

At the breaking out of the great war, Kansas was knocking for admission as a state; and, with her free constitution, she had only a few months to wait after the slave states had withdrawn. She became one of the most prosperous states in the Union. By the side of California, was springing up a new and rapidly developing territory, whose rich silver mines were inviting multitudes of pioneers into her dominions. Before the war had closed, this territory had become the state of Nevada. Nebraska followed next. Though this territory had been urged into prominence when Kansas was organizing, the near proximity of the latter to the South had led to its earlier development. Nebraska, embracing a territory larger than all New England,[1] became a state two years after the close of the war.

Another indication of national vigor is manifested in the great schemes for the internal improvement of the

[1] Drake: "Making of the Great West," p. 321.

country when the government was straining every nerve to quell rebellion. Notable among the great enterprises of this century, was the plan of joining the extremities of our country by railroads. One source of fear for the unity of our country was the great distance and almost insurmountable mountain barriers that separated the Atlantic

General R. E. Lee.

from the Pacific sea-coast. In the darkest days of the war, however, encouraged by liberal grants of land from the government, a company was formed that had no less object in view than the uniting of the West with the East by a great railway line across the continent. The Pacific

railway was constructed. The distance between the national capital and its remotest state was lessened from eighty to less than six days travel. In fact, the long sought for western route to the Indies was thus at last discovered.

Sheridan.

What an enormous territory was in this way opened up to settlement! Out of it has already been carved the opulent state of Colorado; while Dakota, with its vast granaries and herds of fattened cattle, has long been knocking at the door of the Union for admission. The social system of Utah, cursed by polygamy, is barred out

of the sisterhood of states until that excrescence shall have been removed. Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, and even Indian territories will probably, at no late day, demand an equal voice with other states in the government of our country.

Of course, in all this long period of four centuries of American growth, there have been many and cruel wars against the aborigines, whom the civilizations of the Old World had looked upon as their lawful prey. Patriots have existed among this down-trodden people, who deserve a place by the side of the patriots of ancient Greece and Rome; but we have concerned ourselves only with the growth of that race which seems to be destined to supplant all others on the face of the globe. We have seen how they occupied our shores amidst dangers and privations. We have seen how the dominant principle of liberty and independence inspired them, while yet a handful, to cast off the oppressive yoke of foreign government. We have seen how the love of freedom has made all men within the boundaries of our great nation free and equal. We have further seen how these efforts for freedom have grown and developed until our nation stands proudly among the powers of the world that are foremost in all manner of civilizing influences, and foremost in the advancement of true enlightenment. While, however, other countries are filled to overflowing, while other nations must be reaching the limits of their resources, who can measure our resources yet undeveloped? Who can limit our future development? Who can even prophesy what another generation may evolve? Our nation is yet in its infancy, may the historian of it's old age have as little to decry as he has who attempts to describe the beginning of a wonderfully favored people.

Part II.

An Analysis of Modern Culture.

. A Study of Modern Political Institutions.

II. A Study of Modern Culture.

(*a.*) EUROPEAN CULTURE

(*b.*) AMERICAN CULTURE.

III. A Study of Christianity.

(*a.*) PRE-CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS CULTURE.

(*b.*) DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

General Conclusions.

"Civilization has not taken place fortuitously, but in a definite manner, and under the control of natural law; the procession of nations does not move forward like a dream, without reason or order, but there is a predetermined, solemn march, in which all must join, ever moving, ever resistlessly advancing, encountering and enduring an inevitable succession of events; individual life and its advancement through successive stages is the model of social life and its secular variations."

J. W. DRAPER.

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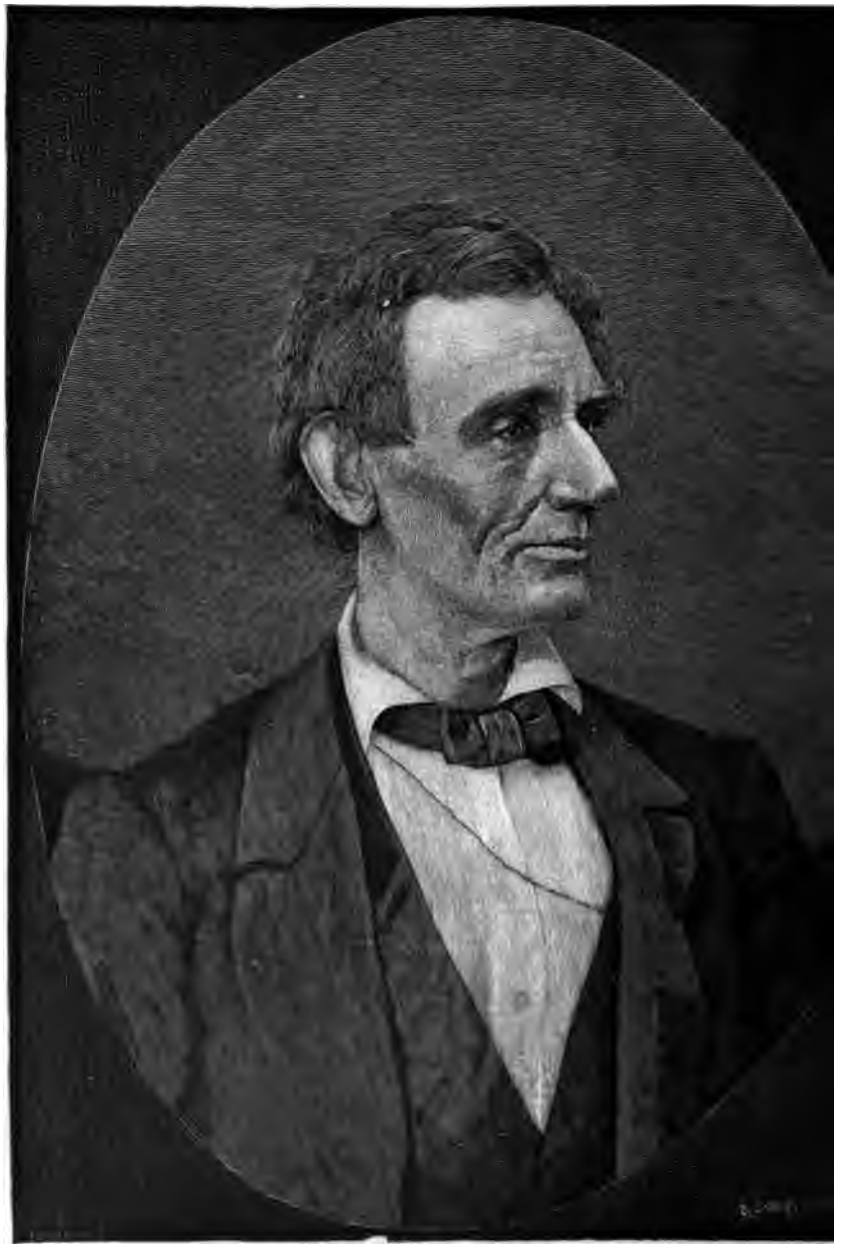
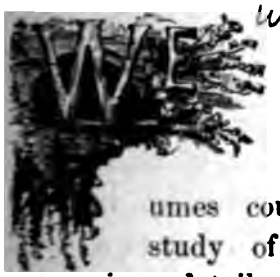


A. Lincoln

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

INTRODUCTION—Subject Outlined—Institution of Ranks and Classes—Aristocracy of Birth—Nobility in Greece—In Rome—Distinction between Ancient and Modern Nobility—Tribal Origin of Nobility—Parties in Ancient Rome—Titles of Ancient Nobility—Comparison with Modern Titles—Growth of Modern Nobility—Aristocracy of Mind—Levites in Israel—Druids in Gaul—Poets in Ireland—Mandarins in China—Peculiar Features of Chinese Nobility—Aristocracy of Wealth—No Permanent Classes—Growth of Territorial Sovereignty—Distinction between Nation and State—Ancient and Modern Citizenship—Banishment in Ancient Times—Modern Governments Territorial—Ancient and Modern Titles of Rulers—Diversities of Sovereign Powers in Small States of Europe—Growth of Parliamentary Authority—Development from Ancient Times—Hungarian Peculiarities—Outlines of this Development in England—Development of Constitutional Government—Co-workings of the Three Departments of Government—Analysis of American Constitution—General Conclusions.



WE NOW enter upon the final stage of our work, and desire to study the civilization of the present day. This is indeed a wide and interesting field; volumes could be most profitably filled with a study of this question. But if we can not enter into details, we can at least take note of the more important elements of this culture, show their derivation from a culture of an earlier period, and draw some conclusions as to their probable course of development in the future. We should now be well qualified for this work. We have spent considerable time in tracing out

the general course of human development, and have paid especial attention to Aryan history and culture.

Knowing the difficulties in our way, our first aim must be to grasp the real, significant points, consider them well, and be content to let drop those of little moment. With this object in view, our subject falls into three great divisions. The first is a study of Social and Political Institutions, and herein is contained the real history of culture after all. By that phrase we understand the organizations for government and social purposes, and the peculiar customs resulting therefrom. That question considered, we must next study the present development of those two great factors which, by their co-working, result in the gradual advance of man in civilization. We refer to Religion and Science.

Though the field be extensive, and it be necessary to condense, yet this study ought to be of great interest to all thoughtful men and women. The work we are now to enter upon is the finishing piece, and the test of all that has gone before. If our previous conclusions be confirmed, then we may venture to prophesy of the future. It will be necessary, however, to show that our present culture is in all respects an advance out of previous conditions.

In a former chapter,[1] we traced the origin and development of those social and political institutions, which, in point of time, were the first to be established, and which, in point of quality and rank, form the very foundations of society. These are the various tribal organizations together with the different systems of relationship, and tribal and family divisions. We will now resume that study and will treat of the growth of social and political institutions as developed in historical times down to our own period. Since

[1] Vol. II. ch. ii.

wever, the topics to be treated are of a somewhat dry aracter, and probably not quite familiar, it will be found great advantage to present a preliminary view of the sues and questions to be considered.

Of all social and political institutions of the Classical, ıedieval, and Modern Worlds, the most prominent, and r far the most influential, has been the institution of ınks and classes. This, then, shall have our first con-deration. It will be found, in the sequel, to naturally vide into a history of Aristocracy of Birth, Aristocracy Intelligence, and Aristocracy of Wealth. It is in these ree forms of social prominence that ranks and classes ıve chiefly manifested themselves. Next in importance the growth of Territorial Sovereignty. Here we intend treat of the various princely and royal dignities evolved nations. In connection with it, stands Parliamentary ıthority, exhibiting the share claimed by the people in e administration of its affairs. In modern times, parlia-ıntary authority has well-nigh superseded the absolute ling power of single dynasties, and it, therefore, requires elaborate treatment.

Finally, we shall try to obtain a full understanding the various "Constitutions" of Republican committees ıd Confederacies. This, however, will be achieved the ıore readily, the better we have grasped the spirit and ift of various constitutions, and, therefore, the compara-'e method, which has been our guide throughout the ıole of this work, shall likewise assist us in attaining to comparative view of Constitutional Law.

Let us turn at once, then, to the consideration of our st subject, which is an inquiry into the origin of classes d ranks. Why should there be such social divisions? seems to be more natural and more in keeping with the

regular drift and tendency of the human feeling and thought to regard and treat every individual alike, and there seems to be little reason in any other arrangement than one of perfect equality. Theoretically, we should expect to see the communities and commonwealths of men constructed on the basis of equal distribution of rights, with no difference in ranks. This, too, has always been the dream of those philosophers who have tried to improve on the present condition of mankind.[1]

But when we appeal to the answer of positive facts, the response of actual history, quite another picture is held up to view. It is the unanimous experience of all time, that no sooner have men united in some form of government, than more or less marked differences of rank or social standing are established. This statement can be safely and broadly made. There is nothing to contradict it. Even if there be some apparent exceptions, they will, on closer examination, invariably turn out to be a corroboration of the general statement. It is true there are cases where such ranks and classes can be discerned only with difficulty, and in other instances they are very inconspicuous. Yet they still exist, and upon investigation will be shown to pervade the whole structure of the state, or community. In fact, we observe such ranks forming, as it were, strata all over the world. Even in those tribes of Africa or Central Asia, which we generally call savage and barbarous, we can still make out such tiers of social arrangement. We may even go a step farther and assert, that real development, real progress in civilization is almost impossible without a corresponding change in the

[1] As, for instance, by Plato, in his "Republic," More, in his "Utopia," Harrington, in "Oceana," and the works of Fourier. This is also the feverish dream of communists and anarchists of to-day

different classes of society. Where there is no difference of classes there is no development, no progress.

In short, civilization is a continuous process of differentiation. This process manifests itself in the formation, alteration, and abolition of social classes, of ranks, of divergencies of all kinds. It typifies itself in various social centers around which the most diversified interests are clustering. It begets varieties and all possible descriptions of unions, of religious institutions, of political and commercial associations. It is the vivifying power of the whole organism. If, therefore, we intend to study the later developments of society at large, we need not be astonished at the vast array of social classes and ranks which meet us, and which form the ever-rising tiers of the grand amphitheatre of the past.

In this country, it must be conceded, there is a generally prevailing idea that progress is largely benefitted by a lack of classes and castes; and that it is a consummation devoutly to be wished that such social distinctions should be abolished; and, pointing to history, it is claimed that the marvelous prosperity of the American Union is owing largely, if not exclusively, to the absence of ranks and social differences.

We must consider this opinion and reduce it to its proper value before proceeding. A proper study of the growth of classes cannot be carried on unless we first come to a solid understanding of the historical value of such institutions. If we were to look upon these formations with contempt, or if we regard them as the half-civilized products of inferior ages, we will fail to rightly measure them. There is nothing, or very little, in the institution of ranks and castes, which is deserving of contempt, and besides, to judge everything by the standard of our own

times and country, betrays a poor knowledge of history, and shows a one-sidedness of mind.[1]

Nothing can be better established, for scarcely any other statement can stronger proof be proffered than for the fact, that nations have the same needs and wants, and, consequently, meet them by more or less similar contrivances. If, therefore, some nations do, and others do not establish classes, this will invariably turn out to be a case of what might be called disguised classes. In other words, it will be seen that with some nations the class-system appears in a strange garb, concealing the usual aspects of classes, and revealing itself to none but the initiated few. This represents the facts of the case in our country. In law, it is true, there are no classes, nor do we meet with the external appearances of the well-known distinctions of Europe. But no close observer can avoid noticing the fact, that here, as well as in every other country, there are sharply drawn lines of demarcation between man and man. Leaving this, however, for the present, let us now try to obtain a fair understanding of the growth of an Aristocracy of Birth.

Aristocracy of Birth, or, what is equivalent, Aristocracy of Blood, is an historical phenomenon of almost universal character. We constantly read of some portion of a tribe, or of a nation being considered of a superior origin, of better blood, of nobler parentage, than the rest of the community. The characteristic feature of such an aristocracy consists in the fact, that the non-aristocratic portion of the people willingly concede their superiority, that the claims and privileges of the "aristocrats" are gladly and fully recognized and acknowledged by the

[1] Vide This Series, Vol. II. pp. 96-7, which shows us how much local usages and customs influence our judgment.

lower members of the nation. They will point to the *undoubted* fact, that their nobles can trace their origin directly to a divine ancestor, as in the case of the ancient German nobles, who were both the aristocrats and the priests of their nation.[1]

The heroes of Homer were more or less of a "divine" origin. Thus Agamemnon boasted of his ancestor, Tantalus, who "sat at the table with the gods." Æneas was the son of Venus; Achilles was a direct great-grandson of Jupiter, etc. And even in historic times, it was held that the nobles of Athens, and of Sparta, were slightly, if not directly connected with the gods of Olympus—the rulers of the universe. Their very name in Athens is expressive of this opinion. The aristocrats in Athens were called "Eupatridæ," that is, people descending from "good fathers"—superior fathers.[2]

If we would understand the nobility of Greece and Rome, we must constantly bear in mind the framework of tribal society out of which it originated. We must remember that the Eupatridæ in Athens were the original invading and conquering tribes.[3] But away back before the dawn of authentic history, the subject tribes had risen to a condition of almost equality. Consequently, the part that the Eupatridæ played in Attica, after the dawn of history, was chiefly one of social, and not of political distinction. Democracy made rapid headway in Greece, and the Athenian noblemen were unable to claim privileges in preference to the rest of the citizens.

1 Vide Eichhorn ("Deutsche Staats u Rechtsgeschichte," p. 63, 5th ed.) for the customs of the ancient Germans. Amongst the Goths, for instance, the Amali were at once the oldest and noblest family, and boasted a divine origin.

2 The word "aristocrat," although likewise a Greek term, was not used in the sense of the modern "nobleman." It had a decidedly political meaning, of which we shall speak later on. 3 Vide Vol. II. p. 188.

But although democratical equality was tearing down one wall of class distinctions after another, the general recognition of a certain superiority inherent in the Eupatridæ was never entirely refused; or, to use Mr. Freeman's words: "The Eupatrid gentes remained as religious and social unions, cherishing the sacred traditions which each traced up to its legendary patriarch. Some special priestly offices still remained hereditary in particular families. But every office that carried with it any shred of political power, was open to every citizen, without distinction of birth and fortune. Yet it is no less true that, long after the establishment of the pure and perfect democracy, the assembly which disposed of every office according to its sovereign will, did, as a rule, choose men of ancient houses to direct the counsels and command the armies of the commonwealth. No more speaking proof can be found of that inherent influence of birth and wealth, which survives the wiping out of all legal distinctions, an influence which legislation cannot give, and which legislation by itself cannot take away."[2]

In Sparta, we do not meet with an aristocracy or nobility the equivalent of the Athenian Eupatridæ. We must remember that Sparta was much more conservative than Athens, and hence the subject tribes had made little or no advance to equality with their conquerors. In Athens, there was alongside of the nobility a number of citizens fully equipped with the rights and privileges of citizenship, conceding and granting only a moral ascendency to the members of the gentry. In Sparta, on the other hand, there was no gentry, because there were no com-

[1] The goddess Athene of the Acropolis at Athens belonged to the family of the Butadæ. The Demeter of Eleusis remained the special deity of the family of the Eumolpidæ. Cf. Vol. III. p. 202-3.

[2] "Comparative Politics," pp. 252, 253.

moners. There were, properly speaking, but two classes of people—rulers and serfs. The serfs, again, were divided into two classes—the Perioeci and the Helots. Of these, the former lived in small cities and were granted a certain amount of independence in the administration of their own municipal affairs. They had, however, no share in the government of the Spartan state, although they frequently participated in the wars of the Laconians.[1]

The latter, the Helots, were kept in a condition closely bordering on slavery. They could not be sold out of the country, but their lot was, nevertheless, a very oppressive one. Spartan haughtiness, coupled with the callous sacrifice of human feelings to political expediency, had introduced among the Spartans a usage of most horrible nature. Every year, a number of resolute Spartan youths were commissioned to range over the country, hiding in day-time and assaulting the Helots in the darkness of the night with deadly weapons. Thus many, sometimes thousands, of the unfortunate Helots were summarily disposed of in order to quell the spirit of rebellion, even before it ventured to manifest itself. The name of this horrible custom was *Crypteia*; and although a few scholars[2] have tried to tone down the frightful aspect of this, the offspring of the unrelenting spirit of the Spartans, it is now universally accepted that the cruel custom was practiced with all its unmitigated terrors. In Thucydides, the greatest of all classical historians, we read[3] "that the majority of Laconian institutions against the Helots were made with a view to the

[1] Thirlwall: "Greece," Vol. I. p. 307; in Clinton ("Fasti Hellenici," Appendix, p. 22.) a computation is made as to the number of this class and it is placed at over sixty thousand.

[2] Particularly O. Muller.

[3] "Peloponnesian War," Bk. IV. ch. 80, 1-3. Other passages are Bk. i. 2. 27; 128; 1, and Bk. ii. 2, 3. 54.

safety of the Spartans," and in connection with this remark, he tells the revolting story of over two thousand Helots being at one time destroyed in cold blood, simply to prevent their uprising against their masters.

This short sketch of the two subdued classes in Sparta will help us to understand the peculiar superiority of rank enjoyed by the ruling tribes. They were no aristocrats, noblemen proper, for there were no burghers to set off against them. They were simply the ruling class, without any further distinctions among themselves. And this is a general characteristic of classical nobility in contradistinction to medieval and modern aristocracy. It has no gradations within its circle. In modern, or rather in the nobility of the middle ages, there is a gradual intensification of nobility. A count is considered a nobleman of higher degree than a baron, and a baron is held to be more noble than a mere gentleman. But no such gradations were known in classical antiquity. The Eupatridæ were all of an equal rank, and among the Spartans we do not see a difference between one citizen and another. They all lived a very easy life as far as the money-making part of life is concerned. For their wants and necessities were amply furnished by the farmers (the Perioeci), and their Helots. Consequently they could, and they did, also, devote their lives to non-commercial objects, hardening their bodies as well as their minds for the unique purpose of their existence—for the perils and dangers of war.

The difference between nobility in Athens, and nobility in Sparta can be measured by the fact, that while even a Helot could eventually become emancipated and hence a free Spartan,[1] enjoying all the privileges of the ruling

[1] Thucydides tells us (Bk. v. ch. 34) that the Helots who had fought with Brasidas were declared free citizens, and allowed to settle wherever they pleased.

class in Sparta, such could never be the case with the Eupatridæ, in Athens. A stranger, when naturalized, became a citizen of Athens, but by no means a Eupatrid, unless one of the high-born families chose to adopt him.

The peculiar character of the Athenian commonwealth, as far as the question of privileged classes and their relation to the general masses of the people is concerned, may be gathered from one of the funeral orations of Pericles.[1] On the whole, the oration is laudatory of pure democracy, but it also argues the good effect of privileged classes, in that it tends to "tolerance of each other's diversity of tastes and pursuits." Where there is complete equality, the weight of public opinion presses heavily on the individual. It is claimed that it was owing to the happy mixture of aristocratic and democratic institutions in Athens, that we are indebted for such characters as Themistocles, Cymon, Socrates, Pericles, and those profound thinkers whose works still exercise an influence on the world at large.

Another remarkable trait in the character of the Athenian, and in general of Grecian nobility, consists in its being almost entirely apart from the political party-struggles of the communities. Wherever there is a stirring political life, there parties will form, and people will draw sharp lines of political creeds and partisanship. That is the very element of politics. The Grecians being of a highly political turn of mind, it is but a matter of course that, in their city commonwealths, party life assumed the most vigorous forms. In all the smaller and larger cities of Greece, in Argos as well as in Corinth, in Thebes no less than in Athens, we meet with party struggles, which, as a rule, were brought to a bloody issue. We might ex-

[1] Thucydides: "Peloponnesian War," Bk. ii. ch. 35–46.

pect that these party strifes would be conducted by the nobles on the one hand and by the lowly on the other. But this was not, or very seldom, the case in Greece. There, parties did not recruit their members from either the nobility or the common burghers exclusively. They were formed by motives different from the usual animosity between highborn and lowborn people.

In Rome, we see two, and only two, parties from the legendary time of King Servius Tullius down to the times of the emperors; in other words, during a period of several centuries. These two political parties were not opposed to each other on the ground of difference in principles, or of divergence in political views, as are modern political parties. On the contrary, they generally agreed in the choice of political measures concerning the conduct of state affairs. Their internal opposition to each other rested exclusively on the fact, that the members of the one party belonged to the Patricians, that is to the ruling tribes of an earlier day, who still regarded themselves as of nobler blood than the members of the other party who were Plebeians, that is descendants of the subject classes.[1]

In medieval Venice, the contending parties were likewise the noblemen (nobili) and the burghers (cittadini). The strife of internal politics in the other cities of medieval and modern Italy,[2] and of Germany was similarly a constant warfare between the "Geschlechter" (patricians) and "Spiessbuerger" (commoners). Even in Switzerland, generally held to be the home of equality and freedom, there have been, and in a measure there still exist, the

[1] Vide Vol. II. p. 200 *et seq.*

[2] Italy, during the middle ages, but also as late as the end of the eighteenth century, was divided into a number of city-states (*i. e.* old tribal states), in which were either members of a gentry (descendants of a ruling tribe), or else common citizens.

most vehement party-struggles between the Patricians and the Plebeians of the different cities. Thus, in the city of Berne, the spirit of exclusiveness was carried to such an extent, that, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, but sixty-nine families had a legal claim to magistracies or to any position in the government of the city-state.[1] The vast majority of the people were entirely divested of political rights and benefits, until a fearful conspiracy, under Henzi, broke out against the ruthless leaders of the aristocracy, compelling them, in the end, to yield to the just demands of the people.

If we will keep in mind the difference between aristocracy in Athens and aristocracy in Rome, we will understand the difference in the internal dissensions of the two states. In Athens, democracy had made such headway, that the nobility were not the ruling class. But in Rome, the ruling classes were, for many centuries at least, at the same time, the nobility of the city. The other constituent part of the Roman people, the Plebeians,[2] occupied a subordinate position in the commonwealth, until their pressing claims for a greater share in the administration of the state were, with great reluctance, acceeded to. But these contests between Roman Patricians and Plebeians have one feature which marks them off very favorably from the party struggles of Greece. In the latter country, the intestinal wars of the citizens were carried on in the most cruel way, with relentless bloodshed and massacres. The Greek historians[3] are full of the sad tales of civil war; and as soon as one party got the ascendency over the other,

[1] The same explanation here applies. See Vol. II. p. 174.

[2] Vide Vol. II. pp. 200, 201.

[3] Remember these were fierce struggles of one faction of all classes of people against another faction also including all classes of people. See, for example, Thucydides, Bk. iii: 69–81, 84, 85; Bk. iv. 46, 48.

absolute havoc was made with the vanquished oppon and their lives and fortunes were seldom spared.

Not so in Rome. There, the fierce contests bet the two parties were struggles between statescraft and severance on the one side, and conservative resistan time-hallowed institutions on the other.[1] The co lasted over some centuries,[2] but very few victims are tioned, and, with the exception of an occasional loss o no bloodshed was committed.[3] Parties in Rome somewhat similar to the Whigs and Tories in land, or to the present Republican and Demo parties in the United States. The Plebeians never th of cancelling everything that had been done by the l cians. In this respect, again, they were unlike the pa in Greece, who, on attaining to temporary supre never hesitated to repeal all the acts and decrees o vanquished party and to disfranchise the members o same. Not so the Plebeians; they never planned a plete overthrow of the Roman Patriciate. What wanted was a share in the government. While they persistently endeavored to fill all places of public di with their friends, they never tried to secure public o for Plebeians only.

The old Patricians of Rome, were, like the maj of aristocracies, not long-lived. Toward the end o seventh century of the town, but few Patrician fa were in existence. But, meanwhile, another kind o bility had arisen. They were the *nobiles*, properl called. They consisted of members of the Equestria Senatorial orders. Originally, any one who had the req

[1] See This Series, Vol. III. pp. 545, 599.

[2] For an outline of which see Vol. II. p. 195 *et seq.*

[3] The bloody times of which mention was made in a former v (Vol. III. p. 295 *et seq*) were long subsequent to these events.

fortune for service in the cavalry was a member of the Equestrian order. The Gracchi considerably enlarged the political sphere of this order by making it the only class of citizens from whom judges could be selected.[1] Since that time it was also called the judicial order. This privilege, however, was taken away by Augustus; nevertheless the Equestrian order still enjoyed great privileges.[2]

It is not easy for a modern reader to fully understand the peculiar character of Greek or Roman nobles. In modern times, we distinguish the members of the nobility by many an outward and external sign, and more especially by their titles. We must spend some time on the subject of titles. Titles seem to be a trifling thing, a mere appendix and label, as it were, to the supposed pre-eminence of the bearer. In reality, however, titles are the exponents of a deep change in the whole structure of the social organism. Given a certain state of things, titles will most certainly arise, no matter whether the letter of the law encourages or altogether forbids their use. Titles will certainly be applied to certain classes, provided they separate themselves from the rest of the people. They will invariably typify that separation by the use of outward signs in language, clothes, armors, utensils, etc., of all these signs, the words coined by the language of such a people will generally be the most significant. Languages are the faithful depositaries of a nation's spirit. In this respect it is instructive to compare the English language with other languages. In England, there never has been that peculiar form of nobility that prevailed in France or

[1] In Rome, the contending parties elected the judge to try the case. (Vol. III. p. 603).

[2] They were, for instance, exempt from several laws, both civil and criminal. See Digest I. 9, XLVII. 18, 1 sec. 2.

Germany ;[1] it differed materially and essentially; and s did the language when applied to topics of nobility. I France and Germany, the very name of a nobleman di fered in construction from the name of a common citizer In France, the word *de*, in Germany, the word *von* was ir serted between the Christian name and the family name c the nobleman. In England, no such custom ever aros nor could arise; for in England, the son of a noblema was not necessarily a nobleman also. The name Cavendis for instance, is no gentry-name in itself. There is a Lor Cavendish, but his very brother may be, and very fre quently is, a mere Mr. Cavendish. Whereas in Germany and France, all the sons of a nobleman are noblemen o the same degree.

If, on the other hand, we try to compare modern or medieval titles of nobility with those that obtained among the Romans, we will find that the language of the Roman people is just as faithful a repository of the institutions o the nation, as is the idiom of Britain. In Rome, the titl of nobility was not a noun-substantive, like *count*, *duke earl*, but an adjective expressive of some pre-eminence like *egregius* (egregious);[2] *perfectissimus*[3] (most perfect) *spectabilis* (shining, glorious); *clarissimus*[4] (most cele brated).

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[1] There is a plentiful supply of nobles of various degrees in Gre Britain, but it is not the nobility of France or Germany. The reader wi find this question discussed in Freeman: "Comparative Politics," p. 23 "Growth of the English Constitution," pp. 82, 162; "Norman Conquest," Vol. I. p. 102. See also Stubbs: "Constitutional History of England," Vol. II. pp. 185-186, 192-193.

[2] This adjective title of Roman nobility appears, for the first time, in deed of the second half of the second century. "Berlin Collections o Latin Inscriptions," Vol. V. p. 532.

[3] This title was chiefly applied to the chief functionaries of the Equ trian order. Cf. the "Code of Theodosius," Bk. viii. dis. 4, 3.

[4] The title of members of the Senate.

These linguistic divergences are at once not only the best indicators, but the best interpreters of institutions. In England, and likewise in other countries of Europe, and in some of Asia,[1] the manner of addressing high-born people consists in using some adjective like those just mentioned. But this refers to the manner of address only. The title of the noble person addressed is different. We say: "Your Grace," or "Your Honor," but the respective titles of the persons addressed are "Duke," and "Marquis." No such titles existed among the Romans. Certain persons were considered "egregious," or "eminent;" but not being a birth-aristocracy, they did not attach a proper name to their class. They had these titles more in virtue of their office, than as indications of excellence of birth.[2]

If we now sum up the peculiar features of classical nobility, we see what strong traces it bears of its origin from tribal society of ancient times; and we are also to notice that it was not at all like the nobility of medieval and modern times. In Sparta, we see nothing but the ruling and subject tribes. In Athens, we see the subject tribes winning their way to a substantial equality, though the Eupatridæ were still regarded as in some way superior to the other class. In Rome, the scene is but little changed. The Patricians, the ruling tribes, were the nobility, though compelled from time to time to grant concessions to the commonalty—the Plebeians. In process of time, this distinction was lost sight of to a large extent, and now the

[1] In Japan, there is a nobility the members of which are distinguished by titles exactly equivalent to earl, count, baron, etc.

[2] The office-holder in Rome acquired a never-ceasing dignity for himself as well as his descendants. The coveted right called *jus imaginum* (the right of keeping the portraits of one's ancestors in the hall of the house) depended on the fact of office-holding.

nobility was simply the office-holding class; it was no longer an aristocracy of birth.

When we turn to consider the state of affairs in medieval and modern Europe, a confused field is before us. Unless we are wrong in our premises, however, nobility, in the first instance, must have originated in substantially the same way, and must, therefore, leave clear traces of its origin. But the many tribes of Central and Western Europe, outside the boundaries of classical lands, underwent a slightly different development. In the first place, they did not dwell in so contracted an area, and they breathed in more the spirit of freedom. But the first stage of nobility in Europe we have already treated.[1] We have also treated of the gradual undermining of this state of affairs.[2] Modern nobility roots itself, to some extent, on these old customs, but it more largely rests on letters of nobility granted by sovereign power. This custom seems to rest largely on chivalry.[3] The first letters of nobility were granted about 1190.

The growth of this modern nobility is treated, to considerable extent, by constitutional writers. From them, we learn that the title of duke, in England, was first bestowed in 1337. The king's oldest son, or heir apparent, was made Duke of Cornwall. This is still one of the titles of the Prince of Wales. But still other scions of the royal blood had to be provided for, and so other dukedoms were created. Before the century was closed, three other dukedoms were created for the support of younger sons of royalty.[4]

"The dignity of marquis was of somewhat later

[1] Vol. III. p. 613 *et seq.* [2] Ibid. 641 *et seq.* [3] Vol. III. p. 648.
[4] Stubbs: "Constitutional History of England," Vol. III. p. 448 *et seq.*

growth and less frequently bestowed. The title, derived from the old imperial office of markgrave, or count of the marches, had belonged to several foreigners who were brought into relation with England in the twelfth century. But in France, the title was not commonly used until the seventeenth century; and it is possible that it came to England directly from Germany. The title was not legally and formally given, as it might have been, to the lords marchers, or to the earl of March; and the fact that, within a century of its introduction into England, it was used in so unmeaning a designation as the Marquis of Montague, shows that it had lost all traces of its original application. The marquises were invested with the golden circlet, and the girding of the sword, and from the year 1470 by the gift of the cap of maintenance." The origins of the titles of earl and viscount were similar; the latter title, by the way, was a novelty in the fifteenth century.

It is probably somewhat difficult for an American to fairly decide on the merits or otherwise of an aristocracy of birth. Looked at through the whole range of European history, and what does it amount to? In the first instance, it was a relic of conquest, which it took some centuries of time for the people of Greece and Rome to remove. In the second instance, it arose partly by the same means, partly by the people allowing elective rights to become hereditary, and partly from that strange combination of circumstances which brought on the Age of Chivalry. This form of nobility still remains in Europe, but, happily, has never been introduced into this country.

Probably the case is not altogether one-sided. Some have supposed that the mere fact of there being an aristocracy of birth tended to make society more permanent;

but, it seems to us, this argument is very poor. Of cours such an aristocracy includes a large share of the wealth the kingdom. This makes them, as a whole, the patron of arts and sciences, and leaves them free to devote thei services to the State. But it may be more than doubte whether these supposed advantages are not more tha overbalanced by the objectionable features of the case.

We now approach the second form of aristocracy; th Aristocracy of Mind, which has likewise exercised a vas influence on society, and which, in a modified form, stil continues to sway the world. First, as to the peculia meaning implied in the expression, aristocracy of mind By this term, we do not intend to imply all individuals o highly developed mental activity, like scientists, poets artists, authors, etc. They undoubtedly do belong to th aristocracy of mind in a certain sense of the word; bu they do not constitute a separate and organized class o men. It is the class character, the organized, systematize co-operation of a number of individuals to which we refe We understand by that term a class of people who enjo certain social and political privileges on the strength, an in direct consequence of their supposed possession of me tal superiority—a higher state of spiritual developmen As examples, we will refer to the Levites in Israel, th Druids in Gaul, to the "Poets" in ancient Ireland, and the "Officials" (Mandarins) of China.

Before considering these various instances more pa ticularly, it may be well to refer to the causes giving ris in many cases at least, to the same. Their origin wi nearly always be found to go back to tribal religion. We ha already said all that is necessary on this point.[1] In th case of the Children of Israel, this body of tribal pries

[1] Vol. II. p. 389; Vol. III. pp. 103, 163.

had coalesced in the form of a tribe, and is known in history as the tribe of Levi. Derived thus, from all the tribes of an early period, they had no distinctive territory or inheritance as their own. But they had succeeded in drawing to themselves all the priestly offices of the people,[1] and were supported by tithes.

It may be interesting to remark the gradual decline of the importance of this priestly tribe. Its decline commenced in the Persian period, and went forward during the Greek and Roman periods. The Pharisaical school elevated the Scribe above the Levite in importance. Knowledge became of more importance than hereditary right. In the synagogues, at the time of Christ, if a priest were present, he might be asked, as a matter of courtesy, to read the law, but he gave place at once to the learned scribe who happened in. The official religious rites in the temple were of course performed by priests down to the destruction of the Second Temple, but a large section of the Jews had ceased to have any regard for the temple service.[2] In short, the Levitical aristocracy among the Jews was going the way of all aristocracies, depending on birth and not on merit. It was a relic of the past, getting more and more out of joint as time passed on.

The Druids in ancient Gaul (France) and Ireland are a second example of an aristocracy of mind. It is not very easy to form a correct idea of Druidism. In the last two centuries, many a volume has been published on the government and philosophical systems of the Druids. The writers of these books indulge quite freely in fancy

[1] Num. xviii: 22.

[2] The Essenes did not visit the temple and did not sanction the bloody sacrifices. The Pharisees ranked the synagogue higher than the temple.

descriptions of the profound wisdom and the elaborat systems of the Druids.[1] Later and more cautious investi gations, however, have proved the groundlessness of many of these statements.

Cæsar, in his "Commentaries," and Pliny, in his works, give us the first and, perhaps, the most accurate accounts of Druids. In these accounts, however, we must make allowance for "mental distances." We will take the liberty to both quote and comment on Cæsar's descrip tion.[2]

"Over all Gaul," writes Cæsar, "there are only two orders of men in any degree of honor and esteem, for the common people are little better than the slaves, attempt nothing of themselves, and have no share in the public deliberations. As they are generally oppressed with debt, heavy tributes, or the exactions of their superiors, they make themselves vassals to the great, who exercise over them the same jurisdiction that masters do over slaves. The two orders of men with whom, as we have said, all authority and distinctions are lodged, are the Druids and the nobles."

Here we wish to call attention to the nobles and th common people. Is it not patent to all that we have her the same classes as we found in Greece—the Eupatridæ an the common people; or in Rome, the Patricians and th Plebeians? We have here to deal with ruling and subjec tribes.

"The Druids preside in matters of religion, have th care of the public and private sacrifices, and interpret th will of the gods. They have the direction and educatio

[1] The acme of these phantastic histories may be found in the work of the French scholar, Reynaud.

[2] Vol. II. p. 171. Cæsar: "Gallic War," Bk. vi. chaps. xiv. and x

of the youth, by whom they are held in great honor. In almost all controversies, whether public or private, the decision is left to them; and if any crime is committed, any murder perpetrated, if any dispute arises touching an inheritance or the limits of adjoining estates,—in all such cases they are the superior judges. They decree rewards and punishments, and if any one refuses to submit to their sentence, whether magistrate or private man, they interdict him the sacrifices. This is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted among the Gauls, because such as are under this prohibition are considered as impious and wicked; all men shun them, and decline their conversation and fellowship, lest they should suffer from the contagion of their misfortunes. They can neither have recourse to the law of justice, nor are they capable of any public office.

"The Druids are all under one chief, who possesses the chief authority in that body. On his death, if any one remarkably excels the rest, he succeeds; but if there are several candidates of equal merit, the affair is determined by plurality of suffrages. Sometimes they even have recourse to arms before the election can be brought to an issue. Once a year, they assemble at a consecrated place in the territories of the Carnutes, whose country is supposed to be in the middle of Gaul. Hither such as have any suits pending flock from all parts, and submit implicitly to their decrees. Their institutions are supposed to come originally from Britain, whence they passed into Gaul, and even at this day, such as are desirous of being perfect in them travel thither for instruction.

"The Druids never go to war, are exempted from taxes and military service, and enjoy all manner of immunities. These mighty encouragements induce multitudes

of their own accord to follow that profession, and many are sent by their parents and relations. They are taught to repeat a great many verses by heart, and often spend twenty years in this institution, for it is deemed unlawful to commit their statutes to writing; though in other matters, whether public or private, they make use of Greek characters. They seem to me to follow this method for two reasons—to hide their mysteries from the knowledge of the vulgar, and to exercise the memory of their scholars which would be apt to lie neglected had they letters to trust to, as we find is often the case. It is one of their principal maxims that the soul never dies, but, after death passes from one body to another; which, they think, contributes greatly to exalt men's courage, by disarming death of its terrors. They teach, likewise, many things relating to the stars and their motions, the magnitude of the world and our earth, the nature of things, and the power and prerogatives of the immortal gods."

We must notice from the foregoing that in the case of the Druids, though they had succeeded in arrogating to themselves the priestly rites and duties, yet they had not so closely coalesced as to form a tribe. Their rights and privileges did not pass by inheritance. Their members were recruited from all the tribes. They were but a slight advance on the priesthood among savage tribes generally. They present an interesting step in the development of priestly bodies like the Magi, or the Brahmans, from the savage priesthood. We want to observe, also, the distinction between exoteric and esoteric knowledge here observed.[1] Their mysteries were carefully guarded, and were not allowed to be placed in writing.[2]

[1] Vide Vol. III. p. 725.

[2] Pliny, Bk. xvi. 99, 95 and Bk. xxiv. 6, gives us an interesting bit of

The third example of an aristocracy of the mind is the "Poets" of ancient Ireland. They played a very prominent part in the society of old Ireland; and they, as well as the Druids, serve to show the great power commanded by a class, the main resources of which are their ingenuity and mental superiority. Our chief source concerning these Poets is the Senchus Mor.[1] This is one of the oldest and one of the most important portions of the ancient laws of Ireland which has been preserved. Its main contents date from the first centuries of our era. These laws were the composition of Poets, that is, singers, wise men, chanters, who were both the lawgivers and judges of Ireland They, no less than the Druids, were a privileged class. Their origin must have been the same as we have discussed, and reached about the same degree of coalescence as the Druids. It was purely a mental aristocracy. We meet, all over the globe, with "singers" and "bards," and the "divine singer," Demodocus, in the Odyssey, is a well-known figure in Greek prehistoric history. But such singers were merely expounders of poetry: narrators of history. No judicial, legislative, or political power was part of their prerogatives. Their influence was of a moral cast. The Poets in Ireland were singers, indeed, but they were likewise the administrators of justice; nay, more than that, they were the sole depositaries of the law of the country. We read in the Senchus,[2] that "land having been walled or trenched by a person, or persons, or the possession of it attributed to him by the Poets in their songs, was legal evidence of his title." So high was the position, and so universally trusted was the memory

folk-lore of the Druids. He relates the great veneration for mistletoe found growing on the sacred oak.

1 Edited by N. Nellson Hancock (Dublin, 1865).

2 "Senchus Mor," Vol. I. p. 46, note.

and uprightness of the Poets, that the prosaic, but al portant question of title as to land-property was le decided by a verse or line in one of the poems o singers.[1]

The Irish had very elevated notions about the dig of their Poets. Their profession, in its judicial capa seemed to be held in intimate connection with divine pe It is interesting to read the passages in the Senchus referring to Poets acting as judges. It is written: "B the coming of Patrick (St. Patrick) there had bee markable revelations. When the Brehons (the nan the Poets as judges) deviated from the truth of na there appeared blotches upon their cheeks; as, first o on the right cheek of Sen Mac Aige, whenever he nounced a false judgment, but they disappeared a when he had passed a true judgment. Connla never pa a false judgment, through the grace of the 'Holy Gh which was upon him. Sencha Mac Col Cluin was not t to pass judgment until he had pondered upon it in breast the night before. When Fachtra, his son, had pa a false judgment, if in the time of fruit, all the fruit o territory in which it happened fell off in one night; time of milk, the cows refused their calves; but i passed a true judgment, the fruit was perfect on the tr hence, he received the name of Fachtra Tulbretl (hastily judging). Sencha Mac Aililla never pronou a false judgment without getting three permanent blot on his face for each judgment. Morann never pronou a judgment without having a chain around his neck. W

[1] In the legal writings of Rome, we do occasionally meet with q tions from poets and especially from Homer. But such quotation not only very rare, but they differ in spirit from the quotations to v we refer.

pronounced a false judgment the chain tightened around neck. If he passed a true one, it expanded down on him.[1]

If, however, the rewards and the dignity of the Brens were great, so were, also, their punishments. We ad that every crime they commit is "full crime," and hey shall be without honor-price until they do penance, d pay eric fine; but when they have done so they shall ve the same honor-price again, though they have not oved from their grade."[2] It is characteristic of the levated position occupied by the Poets, that the reason iven is, that "Protection may be afforded for the dignity t the Poet."[3]

To the aristocracies of mind that have hitherto occuied our attention we have now to add the most remarkable xample—an example which, both from its unparalleled uration and its bearing on an immense population, stands nrivalled in general history. We mean the mental, or iterary aristocracy of China. This wonderful country is t the present, just as well as one thousand years ago, one f the least known civilized countries in the world. Numerless travellers here visited it, and their reports fill whole libraries. But for one reason or another the absoutely reliable books on the Chinese Empire and its institutions are extremely few.[4] The divergence of Chinese customs[5] from ours is so great, the prejudice of travellers so biases their judgment, that statements concerning the nstitutions of the "Heavenly Empire" must be accepted

[1] "Senchus Mor," Vol. I. p. 25.
[2] Ibid. p. 63. [3] Ibid. [4] Vide Vol. II. p. 423.
[5] A recent French writer on China says, on this point: "There would appear to exist between our civilization and that of China the same difference as between the written characters. The one is alphabetic and analytic, the other is ideographic and synthetic."—Simon: "China," 87.

with the utmost caution, and only after sufficient cross-examination of the various reports. With regard to our present question, however, we are better situated. Whatever doubt and uncertainty may clog our steps in other directions, in the department of Chinese "nobility of mind," we can move with perfect ease and safety. Concerning that question, we possess ample and satisfactory material, and curious and interesting it is.

The Chinese have no hereditary nobility. In fact, they have a law in their penal code denouncing death, not only to him who recommends the elevation of a civil officer to an hereditary title, but to him in whose favor the recommendation was made.[1] Such is their aversion to all kinds of hereditary aristocracy. In partial explanation of this state of affairs, we have only to refer to the fact before noticed,[2] that society in China is virtually tribal to this day, and one of the first principles of tribal society is perfect equality. But for all this, we do meet with a system of nobility in China quite in keeping with the genius of the Chinese, in so many respects different from our own. Remember that China is the country where children are expected to be decorous and sedate, while old men fly kites, shoot fireworks, and indulge in other sports. So, in China, we find a system of retrospective aristocracy, which appears to us very strange. The first civil and military mandarins who have distinguished themselves in the administration, or in war receive various titles, such as *Koung*, *Leou*, *Phy*, *Tze*, and *Nan*.[3] These titles or grades are, however, not hereditary, and give no right to the sons of the individual rewarded by them, but they may be carried back to his

[1] Davis: "The Chinese," Vol. I. p. 205, New York, 1855.

[2] Vol. II. p. 447 *et seq.*

[3] These terms being taken from a French work, have to be pronounced like French words.

ancestors. This custom, says the French missionary, Huc, was introduced with reference to the funeral ceremonies and the titles which the Chinese bestow on their defunct relatives. An officer who has been raised in rank by the Emperor, cannot accomplish the funeral rites of his family in a suitable manner, if his ancestors have not been decorated with a corresponding title. To suppose that the son is of higher rank than the father, would be to overthrow the hierarchy, and attack the fundamental principles of the Empire.[1] It will probably strike an American that the Chinese custom is decidedly better than the European one.

Wealth, or great ancestry, is of little or no avail in China. Wealth, indeed, is rather a rare occurrence in that country, and thus its influence is not as strongly visible as in Aryan countries. The only remaining source of preeminence, therefore, is the greater excellence in literary or scientific attainments. All the officers and magistrates in China have to pass rigorous examinations in the various departments of Chinese literature before they can think of running for an office. These examinations are held publicly, and engross, for the time being, all the attention of the vast country. No office being attainable without a previous success in the examination hall, it is quite natural that the issues of these examinations should be an intensely interesting topic of conversation. In private and public discussion they make up for the excitement generally prevalent at our state, or national elections.[2]

It is in perfect harmony with the Chinese tendency

[1] Huc: "Chinese Empire," Vol. I. pp. 89, 90.

[2] Davis ("The Chinese," Vol. I. p. 204) says: "Wealth alone, though, of course, it has some necessary influence, is looked upon with less respect, comparatively, than in any other country, and this because all distinction and rank arose almost entirely from educated talents."

of letting the learned and lettered class have the up hand, that the chief tribunal of the legislature, as well the administration of the Empire, is lodged in the ha of the Academy of Sciences of Pekin. The members this learned body approve of laws and amendments, perintend all examinations, have the supervision of governors, lieutenants, and other officials; it is, in sh the very moving spring of the whole state machinery China. The Academy numbers two hundred and thi two members, recruited by themselves from among *literati* and most eminent scholars, and women are not cluded—several have been members. The State guar tees to each of them the use of a house and garden, w a small money allowance. The surplus of the Academ resources comes from ancient public endowments gifts. It is entirely independent of the government, spite of the assistance rendered, which cannot be wi drawn.[1]

The great power wielded by the Academy will better perceived when we proceed to contemplate anot remarkable institution of the Celestial Empire; Court of Censors. This high tribunal for the administ tion of ethics is formed of forty members taken from Academy. Some are placed with the Emperor, and sup vise not only his public acts but even those of his priv life, which may seem incompatible with the fundamen principles of the State. They command a power equal not superior, to the power of Roman censors; but th position is the more remarkable in that they pronou their coercive measures on the actions of a monarch, not simply, as the censors in Rome, on private citize Their censure they frequently couch in very severe wor

[1] Simon: "China," p. 136.

and we must regard them as a truly elevating proof and illustration of the power which can be compassed by mere intellectual superiority.[1]

In China, therefore, we see the principle of mental aristocracy carried to its legitimate effects. He, who is more advanced in knowledge, enjoys a greater chance of attaining to dignity than they who can boast only wealth or the merits of their ancestors. Bacon's assertion that knowledge is power is realized in China. For the historian, the fact that it is knowledge that leads to power in China, is sufficient in itself. The question as to the value of Chinese knowledge is a subordinate one. They certainly do not cultivate the kind of knowledge we have embraced; they most assuredly have not left the empirical stage. But if inferior to ours, their knowledge has the great advantage of giving a superior standing to those who cultivate it.

The case is well stated in the following remarks concerning the Chinese Classics:[2] "If Confucius had transmitted to posterity such works as the 'Iliad,' the 'De Officiis' (by Cicero), or the 'Dialogues' of Plato, he would, no doubt, have taken a higher rank among the commanding intellects of the world; but it may be reasonably doubted whether his influence among his own countrymen would have been as good or as lasting. The variety and minuteness of his instructions for the nurture and education of children, the stress he lays upon filial duty, the detail of etiquette of conduct he gives for the intercourse of all classes and ranks in society, characterize his writings from those of all philosophers in other countries.

[1] Simon: "China," p. 136. He cites a case where the Academy, by its bold interference, in 1860, forced the Emperor to give up his contemplated departure from Pekin.

. . . The 'Four Books' and the 'Five Classics' would not, as far as regards their intrinsic character in comparison with other productions, be considered anything more than curiosities in literature, for their antiquity and language, were it not for the incomparable influence they have exercised over so many millions of minds."[1]

We now turn to discuss the third form of aristocracy —that of wealth. Wealth being one of the principal objects of men's ambition and activity, it is but natural that it should largely determine the shape and character of social institutions. We have had frequent occasion to trace the influence of wealth on the political and social structure of peoples, and have noticed its influence in developing civilization. We have found the idea of property to be one of the main agents in advancing man in culture. We noticed the interesting rise of cities in medieval Europe as one of the direct consequences of higher organized manufacture and industry; and, finally, we are daily witnesses of the unparalleled increase in wealth and its social results in this great Union.

Great and profound as the influence of wealth is, its bearing on the formation of classes cannot be put on the same level with the influence of the principle of ancestry or that of mental superiority. Wealth certainly has a vast influence on the destinies of mankind. Without it there is no leisure, and in default of leisure men are unable to cultivate the higher pursuits of intellect and the noble problems of art. But classes are seldom originated by mere wealth. In other words, wealth has no tendency to form permanent classes, and it is in this very important circumstance that it differs essentially from both the

[1] Williams: "The Middle Kingdom," Vol. I. p. 232.
[2] Vol. I. p. 237; Vol. II. pp. 193, 203, 220, 222 *et seq.*

cracy of birth, and the aristocracy of mind. shifting character, or, to use a familiar phrase, ups and downs" of industrial wealth are naturally e to create a permanent aristocracy. Enterprises of mercial and industrial character, while they have a ıcy to a rapid accumulation of wealth, have also a ndency of decay. It is rather a rare case when in- al wealth continues through more than three genera- of the same family. This, then, is, historically speak- ıe great difference between an aristocracy of blood, n aristocracy of industrial wealth. When, in conse- e of the Crusades, the cities in Italy were rapidly ing boundless wealth, and, consequently, an aristoc- f wealth—the noble Patricians of Venice, of Pisa, noa, of Ancona, etc.—was formed, it might have asily foretold that this aristocracy had no assurance g duration. No sooner did the trade of the East and begin to be appropriated by Spaniards, Frenchmen, iefly by Dutchmen and Englishmen, than the famous ics of Italy with all their pompous aristocracy of commenced to disappear. Three centuries were nt to end the existence of the rich merchant-nobles ly, whereas eleven centuries could not efface the ous stems of the blood-aristocracy of the feudal ies of Europe.

here is, besides, another reason why wealth, and especially industrial wealth, is unfit to form social of lasting duration. Wealth, more particularly in n times, tends to the establishment of corporations. however, are essentially impersonal, and cannot a class-personality to their members. In none of er countries do we perceive that as distinctly as in ıited States. The overpowering corporations of this

country have undoubtedly a vast influence over the legislature, city administration, and, generally, the politics of states where they exist. But in none of the states do they form a social class, the members of which are marked off from the balance of the citizens by personal privileges of the kind enjoyed by the members of an aristocracy of blood.

Our next great topic is the Growth of Territorial Sovereignty. Before entering into details, let us clearly fix the meaning of the term. By territorial sovereignty, we understand the dignity of rulers whose territory is larger than a single city and, in the majority of cases, smaller than the ancient empires of Asia and Europe. Their titles differ greatly, and so do their characters, their rights, and privileges. In the aggregate, they form all the dynasties exercising a power of government in Europe and in America at the present time. The form of government varies considerably with different nations, and still more so with the different periods of history. There are no better means of understanding the peculiar character of medieval and modern Europe and America, in contrast with Greece and Rome, than a comparative view of the modes of government and the nature of sovereignty in these two periods.

In modern times, we have the following kinds of sovereignties: czars and sultans, kings and emperors, grand-dukes, dukes and markgraves, princes, and presidents of republics. None of these dignities were known to the ancients. They had and used the same words, the same terms, but these terms did not imply the meaning they have at present. This is, broadly stated, the first great difference between modern and ancient states. We will presently enlarge upon this point of great importance in

e study of society. For the sake of greater clearness, e will add the second great divergence from the nature antique states.[1]

We speak of the French *nation*, of the English or erman *nation*, and in doing so, we do not mean to identify he nation with the state. On the contrary, we have a ood idea of the divergence in meaning of these two terms. We know that a nation is not one and the same with the tate of that nation. Nor is it one and the same with the lynasty that happens to rule the nation. The nation has well defined existence of its own, and state, governnent, and dynasty are subservient to the supreme concepion of the nation. In the present century, especially, the uestion of nationality has assumed a tenor of such acute haracter that it may fairly be considered the moving pring of politics. The governments of Europe no longer hink of conquering new territories for the simple reason f adding to their dominions new districts of fertile land. hey plead another reason. They invariably claim to age war for the sake of re-uniting portions of their nation at have been illegitimately detached from the body of e mother-nation.

This was the plea of Germany in 1864 with regard Schleswig-Holstein; this was also the plea of Germany ith regard to Alsace and the German part of Lorraine; is is the constantly repeated pretext of Russia with reard to the numerous Slave nations in Austria, Servia, Bularia, etc. They all want to extend the boundaries of ir states as far as the limit of kindred nations go. It s in the name of nationality, that over two hundred usand Poles were lately driven from Germany. It is, ilarly, in the name of nationality that the Irish insist

[1] Vide Vol. II. pp. 89, 90.

on home rule. In short, the term nationality includes personal relations, it does not rest down on territory. But the modern state and the relations thence arising rest on territory.

This idea of statehood was unknown to classical antiquity, though in both Greece and Rome the pressure of circumstances had been such as to compel the people to take the first steps in this direction.[1] The ancient idea of nationality came far short of the breadth of the modern idea. The modern idea includes in its grasp all people who speak languages belonging to the same great stock of languages. A number of states in Europe are included in the idea of Teutonic nationality. But the ancient idea of nationality included at most but a few tribes, and more often confined itself to one.

This idea colored all the ancient ideas of fatherland and country. The home and fatherland of all citizens of the vast Roman Empire was the city of Rome. On this point, it is remarked that Scipio, at Liternum, was held to be in exile as much as if he had banished himself to Spain or Syria.[2] And when Tiberius removed his dwelling from Rome to Capreæ, men wondered that a Roman citizen, a Roman prince, could so long *carere patria*—a phrase which, if we translate it "to be without a country," sounds strange indeed when applied to one who had simply moved his dwelling from Rome to an island off the coast of Campania. In short, for the ancients the idea, the conception of nationality, of fatherland, centered in their city-states; for the Roman citizen in Rome, and for the

[1] Vol. II. pp. 194–5 and 204.

[2] Freeman: "Comparative Politics," p. 85. Livy (Bk. 38, ch. 53) says that he was under the necessity either to submit to the sentence about to be passed on him by his enemies or to leave his fatherland. Seneca (Epist. 13: 1) pities him for dying in exile. (Vide Vol. III. p. 301-5).

Greek citizen in Athens, or in Sparta, or in Thebes. A nation independent of the city[1] did not exist—was not as much as thought of. This result followed as a direct consequence of ancient tribal society.[2]

If we now closely follow up the consequences and natural results of these two sets of ideas regarding "nationality" (the one entirely identical with the city-state itself, the other essentially independent of it), we will understand the causes, the workings of which created the sovereignties of medieval and modern Europe. Where the whole nation is supposed to be comprised within the walls of one city, there it will evidently be of little significance, whether the conquests of this nation extend over large or small territories. The city being the habitat of the nation, it matters little how large the conquered provinces may, or may not be. Unless a man be a citizen of this city, he does not belong to the nation. The inhabitants of the conquered provinces are "provincials," "municipes," but not citizens.

This thorough-going difference between modern and ancient nationality and sovereignty (one essentially personal, the other territorial) can be still better illustrated by comparing two other institutions of ancient classical times with their modern analogues. We mean our modern citizenship on the one hand, and the ancient right of excommunication or ostracism on the other. In modern times, the conquest of a new territory generally leads to a full bestowal of citizenship upon the inhabitants of the conquered land. Nay, more than that, when Germany had conquered Alsace and Lorraine, far from denying the inhabitants of these newly-acquired provinces the rights

[1] That is to say, the ruling tribe or confederacy. Vol. III. p. 436.
[2] Cf. Vol. III. pp. 436-8 and 520-1.

and privileges of German citizenship, she rather forced them upon the reluctant people.[1]

No such thing was possible in classical antiquity. They not only did not force their citizenship upon their defeated enemies, but they rather strenuously refused to grant them any of the rights of citizenship.[2] To do so would most certainly have seemed an act of political impracticability, of sheer foolishness, to a Roman. To the modern German government, it appeared to be a measure of the greatest political prudence. Such is the change in the opinions of nations and in the circumstances of different ages that, what to one appears as the height of good sense and advisability, is discarded by the other.

As to excommunication or ostracism, the contrast between classical and modern society is still more glaring. In Greece or Rome, it was one of the established modes of depriving citizens of their rights by interdicting them "*aqua et igni*," from water and fire, as the Romans said, or by ruling them out by means of a public ballot, as was usual among the Greeks.[3] In other words, both Greeks

[1] Within two years after the conquest, every grown male person had to declare whether he intended to stay and adopt German citizenship, or whether he preferred to leave the country.

[2] Rome was constitutionally averse to granting citizenship. Even her allies had to resort to arbitrament of war (90-89 B.C.) before they could obtain this privilege. Laws were passed as late as the first century B.C. to exclude the allied nations from this privilege. Conquered nations were sometimes given a restricted citizenship, such as Vespasian conferred upon Spain. But the immense majority of the provincials of the Roman Empire were non-citizens. It was not until the beginning of the third century that Caracalla declared all the inhabitants of the then empire to be citizens of Rome.

[3] The classical nations had no workhouses or jails suitable for extended imprisonment. (Cf. Boeckh: "Public Economy of Athens," Lewis' Edition, p. 339 *et seq.*) They preferred to rid themselves of obnoxious persons by banishing them from the city. In Rome a person thus banished could not return to the city unless permitted to do so by a law passed in the Assembly, as in the case of Cicero, recalled

d Romans found it advisable to punish certain crimes
th expatriation, with the loss of civic rights and with
banishment of the culprit from the soil of the father-
d.[1]

No such punishment has been adopted by modern
vernments. While almost all countries divest certain
victed criminals of their civic rights, none of them
ink of banishing them from the country. Many modern
stitutions[2] have made explicit provision for this case,
hibiting the banishment of a citizen of their country
m his fatherland under any circumstances. Both institu-
ns show us very clearly how very intimately connected
dern statehood is with the idea of a certain territory.
be a citizen means to have a permanent right of dwell-
g in a certain land, and vice versa, any one residing
rmanently in a certain land becomes thereby a citizen
the country.

Both modern and classical states arose from the basis
old tribal or ancient society. The subject is so im-
rtant that we feel justified in presenting once more an
tline of their different development. In the case of the
ssical nations, they had commenced to assume the im-
rtant position they filled in history while they were yet
re tribal societies, consequently their history shows us
ong continued conflict before the idea of territorial rela-
ns overcame the idea of personal relations. But the

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n banishment in 97 B.C. In the time of the emperors, banishment
exchanged for deportation. The Athenian ostracism prevailed also
rgos, Miletus, Megara and Syracuse.

[1] But remember the limited extent of the fatherland *i. e.*, city
was simply a survival of the tribal punishment of casting them out
he tribe (See Vol. I. p. 677).

[2] The German constitution, as well as those of Austria-Hungary,
y, and modern Greece, explicitly provides that no citizen shall be
ished from the territory of his country.

tribes of medieval Europe, whence came the modern n tions of to-day, early settled on a definite expanse of lan From that time, the land became more and more the bas of society.[1] The tract of land on which the tribe settle became known as the *gau*.[2] In time, this gau took th place of the tribe. Gau and tribe became co-extensiv Just as in classical lands, city and tribe became co-exte sive. Other tribal divisions became known by the nam of territorial divisions of the gau.[3] As now, modern n tions commenced to grow, we can see at once that t unit of growth was always a territorial one, the gau.[4]

This is a most important conclusion to keep in mi Knowing the unit of modern society, we will or ought be enabled to understand its character. Modern soverei territories are the result of a combination of smaller t ritories.[5] Without bearing this in mind, it is difficult comprehend the peculiar divergence of modern social a political institutions from classical ones. The unit Greece and Rome was the city. The unit of mode Europe and America is a tract of land essentially diff ing from a city. The city of Rome, or any city in Gree was the be-all and end-all of their existence. There w nothing beside, beyond, above, or beneath it. Hence was not only the unit of the state—it was infinitely mo

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[1] Vol. I. p. 164.

[2] Pagus in Italy. Shire in England. Vol. I. p. 173.

[3] Hundreds, mark, gemeinde, commune, and parish. Vol. II. p.

[4] In strictness we might find a lower unit still. For the unit of tr was the gens, hence the territory of a gens—mark, parish, etc.—might called the unit of the gau. The language used in making general sta ments must not be too closely criticised. In nicety, it may be that aud shire, for instance, are not identical, etc.

[5] Freeman says: "The whole history of our land and of our race be read backwards, if we fail always to bear in mind that the lower u is not a division of the greater, but that the greater is an aggregat the smaller."—"Comparative Politics," p. 119.

than that—it was the state itself. Hence, territorial aggrandizement could not add a title to the state as such. The new conquests did not alter the old state. They were additions to, not parts of the old state. They were provinces, not federates.

Five centuries before our era, the territory of Rome did not extend over an area larger than any other ordinary city. A few centuries later, she had brought under her rule vast countries, covering almost the whole of the then known world. Did all these new conquests alter, augment, or enrich Roman nationality? Not in the least. Did the Romans increase the number of their officials or their duties? Not in the least. The same small number of public offices were filled in the third century B.C., when Rome was a comparatively small city, with very few dominions, and in the first century, when Rome had succeeded in subduing the whole of Mediterranean Europe. There were two consuls, the censors, the prætors, the tribunes, ædiles, and quæstors. And that was all. No need was felt of creating new offices to meet the exigencies of the enormous conquests. As it was before that time, so it still continued to be for many more centuries.

What, on the other hand, do we find among modern states? The very reverse. Along with the spread of territory, goes a constant augmentation of political organs. Offices are added, old offices are expanded, the whole official structure of the state is enriched, developed, changed. The *heretog*, *herszog*, *earl*, of the smaller territory, develops into the *grand-duke*, or into the *markgrave*, or *landgrave*. The offices become hereditary—a thing utterly unknown to classical times. The different dignities of count, earl, duke, markgrave begin to crystallize into a hierarchy of the strictest form, where the great question

of precedence plays a prominent part. The office of sovereign power, instead of being a position for some one of several families, become the property of some one family.

These are some of the marked changes in the structure of modern political sovereignty. They are the direct outcome of the under-lying principle of territoriality. For all modern sovereigns are but the sum-total of those smaller territorial rulers who in the previous centuries of the middle ages occupied the several parts of the present great monarchies and empires of Europe. They grew organically, smaller cells uniting with larger ones into tissues, these again into organs, and organs, finally, into one compact body. It is a bold, yet a true saying of Aristotle, that the state is before its parts. And was not the classical state of the time of the great Greek philosopher actually so organized as to be said to exist before its parts? Did not Rome exist before her provinces and the other parts of the empire were created? Was not every joint in the structure of Roman sovereignty fully developed long before she had made those enormous conquests that were to make up the Roman Empire?

Such, however, was not the case with modern Europe. The German Empire, France, or England were not existent before, but after their constituent parts came into existence. They grew out of them. First came the dukes of Brunswick and Oldenburg and Weimar and the landgraves of Thuringia and the markgraves of Moravia etc. etc., and then, by a union of these constituent parts, Germany sprang into existence. It was the same case with France, where the dukes of Normandy, Britanny, Burgundy, etc., long preceded the creation of the kingdom of modern France. It was, likewise, the case with England, which first consisted of a number of "kingdoms," (like

Kent, Sussex, Essex, Wessex, etc.), which in 827 were united in the hands of Egbert.

This most essential point of difference is most aptly illustrated by the usage of classical nations in naming their rulers. In this case, also, languages prove faithful depositaries and archives of national institutions. The Romans or Greeks never spoke or wrote of a king of "Persia," but invariably of a king of the "Persians." They never called the emperor, in Rome, "Emperor of the Roman Empire," or "Emperor of Rome," but simply "Emperor," or "Emperor of the Romans." In modern times, on the contrary, the custom is just the reverse. Victoria is not "Queen of the English," but "Queen of England." The sovereign is named after his territory.

To call, for instance, in an official way, Umberto the "King of the Italians" would be just as incorrect and as ridiculous as to call our president the "President of the Americans." The territorial origin of these modern sovereignties has so thoroughly imbued them with a character of dependence on the territory they rule, that everything shows it. Having grown out of smaller territorial rulers the modern sovereigns still bear the unmistakable mark of their origin. In order to show this still clearer, we shall proceed to a comparison of the official titles of modern monarchs with the official titles of Roman emperors.

The Roman emperors had no official title, like our modern "Your Majesty," "Sire," and the like.[1] They were sometimes called Optimus, Pius, Felix (the best, the pious, the happy), but these appellations have no official significance.[2] To their names, they usually added the

[1] Mommsen: "Roem Staatsrecht," Vol. II. p. 724.
[2] Ibid. 723.

words "Imperator" (from which our word "Emperor" is derived) and "Cæsar" (one of the family names of the Julian gens) or "Augustus"[1] and sometimes "Princeps," (prince). But these words did not participate of the nature of a title, but that of a proper name. This can be proved conclusively by the fact that the appellative, "Cæsar," was added to the name not only of the emperor himself, but to that of the heir apparent, and to those of his agnates.[2]

Yet it would be an historical error to say that the Roman emperors used no titles. They did not use the kind of titles our modern sovereigns attach to their dignity; they used others. It is in these very titles that we see the salient point of difference between them and our modern sovereigns. Their titles were not taken from the territories they owned, but from the offices they filled. We will try to explain this at some length, contrasting it with the usage existing among our own kings and emperors.

Already, Augustus had divided the whole of the Roman provinces into two large masses, one of which was assigned to him, and the other to the Senate.[3] These provinces were not considered as mere administrative beats or districts. The emperors did not stand at the head of these provinces in the capacity of mere rulers or governors. They were the owners, the proprietors of these districts.[4] These large provinces were their patrimony, their private property.

[1] Ibid. 729-732. [2] Ibid. 730, notes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

[3] Our sources for this remarkable partition are Suetonius: "Life of Augustus," ch. 47. Dio Cassius, Bk. liii. 12. Strabo, Bk. xvii.

[4] Egypt, for example, is frequently called the emperor's largest estate. (Cf. "Philo Against Flaccus," 2: 19; or Tacitus: "Hist.," I. ii.) The most decisive passages occur in the Roman jurist, Gaius, in the second book of his Commentaries, div. 21.

According to our modern notions of sovereignty, nothing would be more in accord with the system of imperial titles than the assumption that the Roman emperors named themselves after the vast tracts of territory which they not only governed, but actually owned. If Trajan, amongst other titles, had taken up the title of King of Bithynia or Duke of Gaul or Pharaoh of Egypt—all the three being provinces he owned in fee-simple—we would find that as much in keeping with our conceptions of sovereignty as the fact that the ruler of the territory of Wurtemberg calls himself King of Wurtemberg.[1]

No Roman emperor, however, thought of adding his territory's name to his own. The official titles he used were of an essentially different character. They had no reference whatever to his landed property, to his territories. They were taken from his dignity as a consul, as a prætor, or as a pontifex maximus. These ancient republican offices, previously assigned to as many single persons, were all united in the person of the emperor, who, by thus preserving the semblance of republicanism, contrived to have all the rights of an Eastern potentate without using the obnoxious title of King or Lord (Dominus), On inscriptions and epitaphs, we find the names of Roman emperors with the following titles: "Pontifex Maximus. Tribunicia Potestate, Imperator, Consul, Censor, Pater Patriæ, Proconsul." The sequence of these titles was established by law.[2] The titles, used by the Roman Cæsars, were thus purely office-holding titles; and had nothing to do with their territories and dominions.

How essentially different are the titles of a modern

[1] The King of Wurtemberg is a purely territorial title; there never was a German tribe named Wurtemberg.

[2] Vide the inscriptions in "Corpus Inscript. Latinar.," Vol. III. p. 904 *et seq*.

sovereign. He has quite a number of them. Ove thirty in some cases, and all of them are taken fron strictly territorial offices. Let us take, for instance, the Emperor of Austria-Hungary. He is Emperor of Austria-Hungary, King of Jerusalem, Bohemia, Galicia, Hungary, Lodomeria, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia; Archduke of Lower and Upper Austria; Duke of Salzburg, Styria Carinthia, Carniola, Silesia, Bukowina; Count of Tyrol Markgrave of Moravia; Grandduke (Grossfuerst) o Transylvania, etc., etc.

Each of these titles is taken from a distinct territory with sharply defined geographical boundaries. They hav no reference to office, to obligations, to duties. They ar expressions and indications of territorial dignity. W may fairly say, that the Emperor of Austria-Hungary i the sum-total of all the kingdoms, duchies, countships and markgraviates just enumerated. How utterly inap propriate would it seem, when, in an official allocution fo instance, the Emperor of Austria would be addressed according to the law and fashion of the Roman emperors with: "Highest Minister of the State and Commande of the Army, Provincial Governor and Chief Justic Supreme Auditor and First Treasurer of the Country? By thus placing their titles alongside of each other we se at once, and with great precision too, the deep differen between classical and modern sovereignty.

But there is still one more interesting point in co nection with the smaller sovereigns of Europe which sho how territorial rights carry with them sovereign righ also. We have reference to the numerous dukes, prince granddukes, landgraves, markgraves, etc., etc., forming they do the germ and the constituent parts of the great sovereigns. In the time of Charlemagne, his va

dominions and provinces were ruled by "missi" (sent, commissioned officials) and "counts," who were chiefly of a military character, and as such were imposed by sovereign will on subject tribes, and we can at once see that the tribes would keep in their own hands as many of their liberties as possible. Owing to the weaknesses of Charlemagne's successors, and the negligence of the subject tribes, the usual result followed, and these office-holders came to be considered as the hereditary incumbents of their offices, and by degrees managed to claim quite a number of sovereign rights and privileges that were foreign to their original position. Among these were the right of levying troops, of administering justice, of claiming tithes, taxes, and the like.

But in many cases the real origin of their power was apparent. A landgrave of Thuringia, or an elector (kurfuerst) of Brandenburg, did not, as such, and by dint of his title, possess all those powers, which nowadays are considered as the natural and necessary outflow of sovereign power. He had not, for example, the right of administering justice to all the inhabitants of his country. Many classes of persons, who otherwise did not refuse to call themselves his subjects, most strenuously refused to have their lawsuits decided by the landgrave's or elector's officials.[1] Nor were they (as late as the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries) always entitled to levy taxes on their subjects. All these, and similar rights of sovereignty they acquired singly and by instalments, so that one duke's sovereign rights may have very considerably differed from the rights of another duke. We think it quite a matter of

[1] The topic now under discussion is one of the most complicated in history. The safest guide in this tangle is Eichhorn: "Deutsche Reichs Rechtsgeschichte," especially secs. 299–314, 418–434, 540-541.

course that a state should be possessed of the sole and exclusive right and power of administering justice to all living in its territory.

Such was, however, not always the case with the smaller sovereigns of previous centuries. Their rights of sovereignty, as we now understand the term,[1] were acquired by slow and persistent labor in two directions. They had to coax or force the Emperor to grant them portions of his sovereignty; and they had to contend with the "Estates," and people of their country to assent to new claims on their good will as subjects. The process of the formation of European territorial sovereignty (especially in its lesser aspects, like the diverse small sovereigns of Germany, or those of Savoy, Naples, Servia, etc.) lasted several centuries and, in fact, the relation of ruler and ruled was in such an unsettled condition as to lack a definite name, the name "territorial sovereignty" (Landeshohcit) not obtaining general acceptance before the treaty of Westphalia (1648).[2] It was not until the seventeenth century that the claims of the diverse dukes, granddukes, markgraves, and electors came to be fully recognized, so as to give them a real right of sovereignty, instead of a number of single, unconnected privileges resembling the easements in private law, which, while giving us certain detached rights to the property of our neighbor, never make us the real owner of it.

Since that time, the idea of territorial sovereignty was laid on a firm basis. The people permanently dwelling in one of these sovereign's territories were, by force

[1] Sovereignty comprises the right of legislation (or of concurrence in legislation), judiciary, taxation, military command, appeal, and, if vested in a certain family, irresponsibility of the sovereign.

[2] Vide Eichhorn; see 299 note a, and K. Maurer in article "Landeshohcit of Bluntschlis "Staatswoerterbuch."

of this fact alone, subject to the sovereign power, just as every citizen of Ohio has to comply with the law of this sovereign state. The exemptions of former centuries[1] were abolished, and all classes of people were "subjects" of their territorial sovereign.

We now turn to consider the Growth of Parliamentary Authority. In our days, the word Parliament is of such common occurrence, and is found as the name of an actual political institution in so many countries[2] that it excites neither wonder nor calls for particular explanation. The whole institution seems to be such a simple structure; it answers so reasonably to the wants of society; it is in such happy and obvious harmony with a state of healthy liberty, that instead of wondering at its existence, we are far more inclined to wonder at its non-existence in former centuries. That the will of the people should be taken into consideration whenever laws or ordinances affecting the people are passing, seems to be the very element of political fairness. It is a matter of the commonest experience that for the vast majority of citizens it is practicably infeasible to attend the meetings of legislative bodies in person.[3] Hence a system of representation will arise, and a set number of citizens will commission a delegate of their choice, and the aggregate of these delegates will form a Parliament.

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[1] Such exemptions were enjoyed by many cities, by the "Landsassen." of convents, by many rural communities with regard to forest, dike, and mill litigations. See Moeser: "Osnabruck Geschichte," I. sec. 42, 43; Eichhorn, sec. 302.

[2] At present, there are Parliaments in Greece, Turkey, Italy, Spain, France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Holland, England, Denmark, Sweden, United States, Mexico, Brazil, etc.

[3] In the canton of Appenzell, in Switzerland, the citizens still attend the legislative meetings in person, each with his sword, and when a bill has been approved by the Assembly, they all, in a loud voice, pledge themselves to obey the law. Vide Freeman: "Growth of English Constitution," p. 7.

This institution, however, like everything else, is a growth, a development out of a pre-existing state of affairs. In its modern form, it was unknown to the ancient world, and was unknown in Europe before the thirteenth century. It must arise from institutions of tribal society. The council, we found, was the constant phenomenon of tribal society. Each division of a tribe had an elective, or hereditary, head to represent it in the council of the next higher division. Each member of a gens had a right to meet in the council of the gens to deliberate on affairs of moment to the gens. The chiefs of the various gentes formed the tribal council, and the whole tribe assembled in council to discuss the proceedings of this tribal council.[1] Of course, as time passed on, the general outline here presented became variously modified, but the main outlines remain; thus we found legislation in Sparta, Athens, and ancient Rome resting substantially on this basis.[2]

Many interesting points come up in tracing this gradual development in Greece and in Rome. Two great and growing obstacles constantly confronted the people. It is manifest that all the voters could not meet in assembly when their number became at all large, and as the great struggle in antiquity was by the subject tribes for a share in the government, this time must soon come, and we have noticed the various expedients of rulers to meet this demand. In both Athens and Rome, we saw the formation of classes. In Rome, at least, the people voted by classes, each class representing one or more votes.[3] Modern representative government took its rise when tribal society had

[1] Vol. II. p. 206 *et seq.*

[2] Vol. II. pp. 183-186, 197-199; Vol. III. pp. 477 *et seq.*, 595-599.

[3] Vol. II. pp. 203-4.

long been a thing of the past. But we will still detect traces of the old order of things.

Especially is this remark true of Hungary. The Magyars of Hungary to this day retain many traces of their old tribal life, and also of tribal independence and liberty. Hungary enjoyed representative government at a time when many of the nations of Europe had lost their old tribal liberties and had not yet succeeded in winning new ones. The center of Hungarian politics is laid in their county-institution. A Hungarian county, *megye*, is very different from its American synonym. It is much more like the ancient *gau*. Each megye represents an old tribe, and preserves clear traces of its former independence, having always had the power of passing and enforcing statutes of its own. Since 1867, great reforms, all in the lines of stricter centralization, have been made, and Hungary no longer consists of fifty confederate "small states," as the counties of Hungary were called. There is, however, still a very considerable remnant of the old independence of the times before 1867.

This comes out clearly in considering their rights and privileges before the great revolution of 1848, in which the well-known Louis Kossuth played such a prominent part. It is well to glance at the most prominent. They held, first, the right of electing deputies to the Diet (Congress), and of recalling the same. For it was part of the duties of a delegate to correspond with his constituents, and inform them of any new subject of interest which might be brought before the "Table" (Diet), in order that they might be debated in the "Congregation" (County-meeting), and the result of such debate be forwarded to him for his guidance. Should he not follow the instructions furnished him, or otherwise fail to give satisfaction,

he might be recalled at any time, and another delegate be sent in his place. In one word, the counties were everything, in the Diet as well as out of it. They also exercised the right of local administration, and of passing statutes (not contrary to the common law of the realm) having force within the bounds of the county. Further, they had the right of electing their own magistrates, and the right of watching over the integrity of the law; thus controlling not only the procedure of their own magistrates, but even of the central authorities.

In the following description from one of the greatest of Hungarian historians,[1] the fact, that in the megye we are dealing with the remnants of a once independent tribe, still possessing a good share of such independence becomes very clear: "The county-meetings of Hungary acquired a character so peculiar that an exact parallel to them can be found nowhere in Europe. The English public meetings only express their opinions upon some question or other; but the fact of their not being invested with any official authority at once distinguishes them from the Hungarian 'congregations.'. . . The 'congregations' not only debated and expressed their opinions upon political questions, but had other functions which gave them a substantial share in the government of the country. To them as administrative bodies, were addressed the orders of the crown and the central government boards, *i. e.*, the council of lieutenancy, which sat at Buda, and the Hungarian court chancery, which sat at Vienna. These orders they either carried out by handing them over to the magistrates whom they concerned, or, if they considered them contrary to the laws and spirit of the constitution, they laid them

[1] Michael Horvath; "Huszonot ev Magyarorszag tortenetebol" ("Twenty-five Years of the History of Hungary.")

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ide 'with respect,' and petitioned the Crown or the gov- nment boards for their withdrawal or modification."

For the purpose of illustrating the rise of modern presentative government, we can not do better than refer ith some fullness of detail to England, where is to be nd the greatest and most momentous example of Parlia- entary government. The international importance of reat Britain, the fact that over three hundred million ople are directly or indirectly ruled from London, taches a significance of the very highest order to all the oader political institutions of England. It has frequently en called the mother of Parliamentary life, and while is is, in strict historical truth, not correct, England will ways be considered the country, where the whole system representation has been fostered and cultivated with uccess evidently superior to that of any other country. ice in this finite world of ours, nothing succeeds like suc- s, it is, if not strictly correct, yet expedient and conven- t to take the English Parliament as the most typical m of representative government. And, no doubt, it is her Parliament, that England owes her steady growth l enormous development of power. The foundations this, the central political institution of England, date k to a number of centuries; and having thus struck ir roots in the deepest layers of national soil, they tinue to preserve a vigorous root-life, totally undis- bed by the stormy gales which at times bluster ough the foliage of the trees growing on the surface of soil.

If we compare France with England, we cannot fail to that the spontaneous, slow, and unforced growth of the glish Parliament stands out in strong contrast with the ficial, unstable growth of fits and starts of the French

"Three Estates." The functions of the English Par ment have in France, in the course of five centuries, b intrusted to an amazing diversity of ever new-fangl experimental systems of all kinds of boards, commissio bodies of deputies; meeting in one, sometimes in two, other times in three chambers; based on every variety principles—ecclesiastical, feudal, territorial, and phi sophical. It is no wonder, then, that the constitutio history of France abounds with the full register of Parl mentary, despotical, aristocratical, and ochlocratical (mc governments. The changes follow each other with astou ing rapidity, and only time can tell whether the future to be one of peace and security.

In England, on the other hand, we find a stea homogeneous growth, and it can be said without dread exaggeration or historical incorrectness, that England, far as its political center, Parliament, is concerned, stan at the present day exactly where it stood at the time Edward I., in the thirteenth century. No essential chan has been introduced, the structure of the building is sti the same, and the precedents and customs of the tim of the king just mentioned are still a matter of dail query and discussion of the latest members of the En lish Parliament. This peculiar continuity of an hi torical institution, dating far back into the middle age has been admirably and tersely characterized in the say ing: "Up to the reign of Edward the First, English hi tory is strictly the domain of antiquaries. From th reign of Edward the First, it becomes the domain lawyers."[1]

The Parliament of England, like many other institu tions of the public life of that country, and first of all

[1] Freeman: "Growth of the English Constitution," p. 87.

he the constitution of that realm, does not rest on a ritten document, as does the Congress of the United tates. No such document exists. The whole immense pparatus grew up like any other organic creature, by early imperceptible steps, and its foundations are "unritten law." It is a well-known fact, that the common-w of England (which, to a very great extent, has also been ccepted as the common law of the United States) rests xclusively on "unwritten" sources, that is, on single udicial precedents, and not on a comprehensive code of w expounding the principles of jural relations. Now it s just so with the law of Parliament in England. It rests ntirely on "unwritten law," on precedents. The vast in-luence of this apparently unsatisfactory description of law ill be perceived most strikingly by putting one of the utcomes of English Parliamentary government to a loser examination. In our daily papers, we constantly ead of the English "Cabinet." We know, that for the ime being Mr., or Lord So-and-So is prime minister, and tands at the head of affairs, selecting the members of his "Cabinet" from the adherents of his party. To these "ministers," he assigns the various departments of gov-rnment, and the whole work of the political machinery. t will be easily seen that such a Cabinet plays a very im-ortant part; in fact, it is, if not the soul itself, the visible nd audible expression of the soul of Parliament. What ould be more readily expected than that the Cabinet in e English Parliament should have a safe legal founda-on? That the law of the country should fully recognize e existence and functions of such Cabinets?

But the fact is, the law of England does not know of ch things as Cabinets. The writers on the constitutional w of England in the last century never mention the

"Cabinet." To them, such a thing evidently had no legal existence, and even at the present day Englishmen habitually speak of "Lord Palmerston's Government," or "Lord Salisbury's Government," meaning thereby a certain knot of privy councillors, of whom it would be impossible to give any legal definition. The names of the persons who compose the Cabinet for the time being are never officially announced, nor are there even any official records of its meetings, or of the resolutions which may have been adopted by the members. But the English Cabinet, virtually nominated by Parliament, has never yet been formally recognized by any act of Parliament.

The Parliament of England consists of two Houses: the Upper House or House of Lords, and the Lower House or House of Commons. The Upper House consists of a varying number of members as regards the representation of England, but fixed with respect to Scotland and Ireland. All the peers of England, as well as those whose patent of peerage is for the United Kingdom, have seats and votes in the House of Lords, but the peers of Scotland and Ireland are represented only by delegates; those for Scotland being elected for every new Parliament, and those for Ireland for life. In 1878, the official "Roll of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal" returned exactly five hundred members, the list comprising, five members of the royal family, two archbishops, twenty-one dukes, nineteen marquises, one hundred and thirteen earls, twenty-nine viscounts, twenty-four bishops, two hundred and forty-eight barons, sixteen Scottish representative peers, and twenty-eight representative peers of Ireland.

The actual functions of the House of Lords are very indistinct; they exercise a general right of supervision over the bills passed in the Lower House. The House of

ords, as a rule, is very poorly attended, and there are two easons for this rather remarkable fact. In the first place, ie attendance of three members is sufficient to constitute quorum, while forty are required in the Lower House. In ie second place, the Lords are entitled to vote by proxy, stead of in person, a right of which they very frequently ake use. Two other members being present, the "Lord hancellor" may take his seat on the woolsack, and order isiness to proceed at any hour during the day.

The House of Lords is at the same time the highest urt of appeal in the country. This dangerous union of gislative and judicial power, in one and the same body of en, has, however, proved beneficial and the severest itics of English Parliamentary government have con-rred in the general praise of the impartiality of the ords. Delolme writes as follows: "In the exercise of eir judicial authority with regard to civil matters, the ords have manifested a spirit of equity nowise inferior to at which they have shown in their legislative capacity. ey have, in the discharge of that function (which of all ers is so liable to create temptations), shown an incor-ptness really superior to what any judicial assembly in y other nation can boast. Even that privilege which y enjoy, of exclusively trying their own members, in e of any accusation that may affect their life (a privi-e which we might at first sight think repugnant to the a of a regular government, and even alarming to the t of the people), has constantly been made use of by Lords to do justice to their fellow subjects; and if we t our eyes either on the collection of the State Trials, or the history of England, we shall find very few examples, ny, of a peer, really guilty of the offence laid to his rge, that has derived any advantage from his not being

tried by a jury of "commoners."[1] In the process of time the House of Commons became the very soul of Parliament, and, consequently of the whole body of the English realm. It is there that the idea of representative government has reached its full maturity; it is there that the demands of the people no less than the desires of the Crown have found a just hearing, and a satisfactory settlement. It has been and still is the model of all similar bodies and its precedents are freely resorted to not only in England but in foreign countries also. It rests on a nearly universal suffrage and consists of six hundred and fifty members elected in the counties, cities, boroughs, and universities of the realm. The great importance of the House of Commons will justify a more elaborate inquiry into its origin.

It is one of the strange things in the history of England that the capital institution of the country was inaugurated, if not created, by a foreigner, by a man of that nation with which the English were engaged in constant wars for many centuries, by a scion of the French nobility. We have said that the English constitution as well as the Parliament is a product of slow, uninterrupted, and organic growth, the work of centuries. It is but a matter of course that such institutions, while they show the influence of many individuals who, in the course of time, left their mark on their shape and form, they will only in very rare cases be reducible to the paramount influence of one man. The influence of individuals, limited as it always is, must needs be very much restricted and even scarcely traceable in institutions, the very character of which is not susceptible to the impress of individual men. In France, where political institutions are of a rather artificial make, the influence of individuals is much more perceptible than in

[1] "The Constitution of England," pp. 374-5.

gland; and of many a rule, custom, and usage of French litical life, clear historical traces show that they originated the will, wisdom, or shrewdness of some one of the French bles and statesmen.

This organic growth of English institutions, which is, a rule, so adverse to the direct influence of some one dividual, has, however, one great exception. The House of ommons owes its origin to the action and political insight a well-known French noble, to Simon de Montfort, later arl of Leicester. This truly great man, who, after his artyr-death, was held as one of the saints of the English people, stood at the head of the nobles and commoners who refused to yield to the tyranny of King lenry III., and who finally defeated him at Lewes.[1] imon then convened a Parliament, and for the first me sent writs of summons to cities and boroughs. His ample being adopted by his conqueror and King Henry's ccessor, Edward, it has been ever since kept up as the gal custom of Parliament.

In order to learn more of the character of such an imortant personage in constitutional history, let us quote om a recent work. "Simon had all the virtues, the rength, the grace that Henry wanted: and what advanges he lacked, the faults of the King supplied. If he be redited with too great ambition, too violent a temper, too rong an instinct of aggression, his faults will not outeigh his virtues. His errors were the result of what emed to him necessity, or of temptations that opened for m a position from which he could not recede. Had he ed longer, the prospect of the throne might have opened ore him, and he might have become a destroyer instead a saviour. If he had succeeded in such a design, he

[1] 21st of May, 1264.

could not have made a better king than Edward; if he had failed, England would have lain at the feet of Edward, a ruler whose virtues would have made him more dangerous as a despot than his father's vices had made him in his attempt at despotism. Simon cannot be called happy in the opportunity of his death, yet it may have been best for England that he lived no longer. He was greater as an opponent of tyranny than as a deviser of liberties; the fetters imposed on royal autocracy, cumbrous and entangled as they were, seem to have been an integral part of his policy; the means he took for admitting the nation to self-government wear very much the form of an occasional or party expedient, which a longer tenure of undivided power might have led him either to develop or to discard. The idea of representative government had, however, ripened under his hand; and although the germ of the growth lay in the primitive institutions of the land, Simon has the merit of having been one of the first to see the uses and the glories to which it would ultimately grow."[1]

The institution so happily inaugurated by the patriotic energy and prudence of Montford had, however, to overcome very serious obstacles before it could command all those resources of power which, in later centuries, fell to its lot. Two drawbacks materially affected the rights of Parliament: the recognition of certain power on the King's part to do by his own authority acts of the same class as those for which he asked the counsel and consent of Parliament; and the further fact, that certain individual members of the assembly claimed and practised the right to concede or refuse their consent to the conclusion of the whole legislative body. Thus, for instance, taxes might be granted in Parliament, but the King could still

[1] Stubbs: "Constitutional History of England," Vol. II. pp. 103-4.

take the customary aids without reference to Parliament; he could increase the customs by separate negotiations with the merchants, and "at any time raise money by gifts negotiated with individual payers, and assessed by the officers of the exchequer."[1]

The second drawback, the existence of which is fully attested by contemporary evidence,[2] will strike a modern reader as rather strange. For it implies that in the first Parliaments of England it was not taken for granted that the majority rules. The authority, just quoted, asks: "When Geoffrey of York, or Ranulf of Chester, refused to agree to a grant, was the refusal final, or was it overborne by the consent of the majority? Did the baron who promised aid make a private promise, or authorize a general tax? Did the consent of a baron in council to grant a tax bind him individually only, or did it form part of such a general consent as would be held to bind those who refused consent?"

These and similar prerogatives of the Crown and of single nobles were great hindrances in the development of the House of Commons, at which we will now glance.[3] In the reign of King Edward II. (1327–1377), a very important advance is noticeable; the formal separation of Parliament into the two Houses of Lords and Commons. In course of time, it was found convenient for the Commons to have a chamber of their own, and they adjourned their sittings to the chapter house of the abbot of Westminster, where they continued to be held afterwards. The date of this event is not clearly established, but is generally assigned to the seventeenth year of Edward III.'s reign.

[1] Ibid. p. 252. [2] Ibid. 253.

[3] In this survey, our chief authority is Sir T. Erskine May: "Constitutional History of England."

For a considerable length of time, the Commons did not occupy a prominent position, and they were officially termed "petitioners" whenever they submitted their advice or desire to the Crown. By degrees, however, they became bolder. Under the minority of King Richard II., the Commons insisted upon the annual assembling of Parliament under the stringent provisions of a binding law. They claimed the right, not only of voting subsidies, but of appropriating them, and of examining public accounts. They inquired into public abuses, and impeached ministers of the Crown. They increased very considerably in numbers. In the reign of Edward I., there were about two hundred and seventy-five members; in that of Henry VI. (1422–1461), three hundred. In the reign of Henry VIII., Parliament added twenty-seven members for Wales, and four for the county and city of Chester; and in the reign of Charles II. (1660–1685), four for the county and city of Durham. Between the reigns of Henry VIII. and Charles II., one hundred and thirty members were added by royal charter.

Prior to the reign of Charles I. (1625-1648), the condition of English society was such as naturally to subordinate the Commons to the Crown and the Lords. After the Revolution of 1688, society had so far advanced that, under a free representation, the Commons might have striven with both upon equal terms. But, as by far the the greater part of representation was in the hands of the King and the territorial nobles, the large constitutional powers of the Commons were held in check. Since the Reform Act of 1832, when the representation became a reality, a corresponding authority has been asserted by the Commons. The Lords soon learned that whenever the majority of the Commons energetically insisted on a

measure, however repugnant to the sentiments of the upper house, the wisest thing was to yield to the pressure. And thus it became a political axiom that the Commons alone determined the fate of ministries and the policy of the State.

The relations of the two houses, however, can only be understood in connection with the action of political parties. The Lords may be said, generally, to represent the opinions prevalent before 1832, while the Commons enlisted on the side of the progressive ideas of later generations. Hence, under liberal administrations, the two houses have been in frequent conflict; under conservative administrations, they have been brought into general agreement.

The close connection of the Commons with the people, the publicity of debate, the rapidity of communication with all parts of the world, and the activity of the press, have made the floor of that house the popular platform of England. In that arena, are discussed every conceivable grievance, complaint, opinion, project, or delusion. This is not an unmixed good. Subjects the most trivial are forced upon the attention of the house, by means of questions and incidental debates; and, on the other hand, after weary sittings, matters of the first importance fail to obtain a hearing.

All these minor evils, however, do not outweigh the majestic privileges of the house and its members. In none of the continental countries of Europe, are Parliamentary institutions carried to such a high degree of liberty as in the House of Commons. Every member of the house has the right of proposing a new bill containing a new law, or an amendment of a law. This precious right has but very rarely been granted the single members of a legislative body. In Rome, very few of the higher magis-

trates could submit a bill to the acceptance of assembly. In France, when their General Estates w allowed to sit, their "remonstrances" were little regar In Sweden, the power of proposing new subjects lodged in an assembly, called the Secret Committee, c posed of nobles and a few of the clergy, now it is posses by the King. In Scotland, until the Union (1707), propositions to be laid before Parliament were framed persons called the "Lords of the Articles."[1]

It was only in the course of the present century t the majority of European nations were granted the po of electing their deputies to the assembly, investing th with a power of framing and passing bills. We s "granted," for this privilege had to be extorted from reluctant sovereigns of the various countries, frequently main force, very seldom by mutual agreement. Aust got its first Parliament in 1861, Spain in 1812, Prussia 1850, Bavaria in 1818, France since 1815, Italy (Napl 1812 (and 1846), etc. These Parliaments were modell more or less after the English pattern, and natura proved abortive in many ways; for, while Parliament England with its two houses was of historic and con quently natural origin, the two-chamber system did n suit other countries, and frequently failed of succe Taking a second lesson where it could be easily learne the modern Greeks established a Parliament with o chamber only. The rights of continental Parliaments a not as extensive as those of the English archetype, and t upper houses in Prussia, Austria, Italy, and Spain diff essentially from the House of Lords in respect, that all t members of the high-born aristocracy are born peers, th they cannot vote by proxy, and that they have no judic

[1] Delolme: "Constitution of England," p. 235.

power whatever. The power of continental Parliaments is reduced very considerably by the great number of political parties struggling for ascendency. While there are only two great parties in England, there are sometimes as many as twelve in Germany, eight in Austria, half a dozen or so in Spain. This very fact is a fertile source of the encroachment of the sovereignty in those countries, the discordant parties being an unfit match for the centralized power of the Crown.

We have arrived at the last division of our present chapter: at a comparative view of the constitutions of various modern countries. Here we have to regret the extremely limited space at our command. The constitution of a country is by far the most influential of its institutions, it is the faithful exponent of the spirit, force or weakness, liberty or thraldom, progress or decay, of a nation. Change its constitution, and you have changed its innermost character; change its innermost character, and you have altered its constitution. The great naturalist, Owen, said that one single tooth of an animal was sufficient to re-construct its species, habitat, and anatomical structure. If this be true of a single organ of an animal, it will be found equally applicable, in a metaphorical sense, to the organism of a higher being—of a state. Given the constitution of a state, the rest may be easily divined. If we hear of the Swiss making their president a mere figure-head, and the Americans bestowing on their chief magistrate a kingly power for the space of four years, it will be evident at once, that although both countries claim the title of republics, there must be a thorough-going difference between them.

This one example will show us, that in studying the constitutions of different nations, we must carefully avoid

laying undue stress on names. A full-fledged monarchy sometimes goes by the name of a republic, and vice versa, a republic will at times be disguised under the misleading title of a monarchy. We must, therefore, separate conceptions, apparently identical, but in reality of a divergent nature. We must keep strictly to the fundamental notions underlying political constitutions. These are as follows: all political power can be divided into three groups; Legislative, Executive, and Judicial. These powers can be intrusted either to single persons, or to boards consisting of several persons. These, again, can be in office for a certain time only, or for life-time. On the right assignment of these three constituent powers to the most appropriate system of officials and incumbents, rests the prosperity of a nation.

These are, in general, the leading principles of constitutions. An inquiry, therefore, into the constitutions of nations is mainly an investigation of the apportionment of these three powers. If the bulk of these powers rests with what we are pleased to call "The People," the constitution of the nation will be democratical. If it is possessed by a few privileged classes to the exclusion of the other classes of a people, the constitution will be called either an aristocratical or an oligarchical one, depending on whether the ruling class is an aristocracy of birth, or an aristocracy of some other description. If, finally, the three powers are united, or greatly in the hands of an elective or hereditary "king," or "monarch," the constitution will be either a monarchical or a despotical one, according to whether the king is considered the ultimate appeal in all cases or in a number of cases only.[1] For all purposes of investigation, it is much safer to speak of demo-

[1] Vide Vol. III. p. 595 *et seq.*

l governments or constitutions than of "Republics." ow with regard to these three powers, the first great ion is, whether they shall be united or separated. In words, whether the executive power, for instance, be severed from the legislative and the judicial ers, and so of each of the others. In this country, as l as in others, it belongs to the household-words of popular ities to speak of a strict separation of these three wers. It is considered not only the advisable and olesome way to democratic justness, but the only guar- tee of enduring safety. Hence, in theory at least, e three powers are held in strict separation from one nother. It is not difficult to trace up the history of this opinion to the theories of the French "Encyclopædists," as they were called, Turgot, Guesnay, Condorcet, Voltaire, Helvetius, Rousseau, etc. The originators of the constitution of the United States, and more especially Jefferson and Madison, were firm adherents of the theories of the French thinkers. They most fervently embraced the doctrine of the strict separation of the three powers. At that time, very few politicians had a doubt about the great efficacy of written constitutions. They thought that, by a wise and well-made arrangement, all the powers in a state could be kept in due balance without overlapping or encroaching upon one another. As is shown by the "Madison Papers," they thought that all the "medieval misery," as they were pleased to call the feudal character of the then empires of Europe, could be easily removed by conscientiously framing a constitution in which the three powers, instead of being assigned to definite classes, would be thrown open to the competition of popular elections.

In one word, the political philosophers of the middle of the last century, and especially the framers of the con-

stitution of the United States, believed in being able to make a free country by drafting a constitution in which the three powers were to be strictly separated from one another, and the incumbents of offices elected by the franchise of all voters.

That the well-nigh incredible success of the United States is due to this wisely-framed constitution, but very few Americans will hesitate to declare as self-evident. On the other hand, however, very few Americans realize how vastly different the actual state of the constitution of the country is from its written pattern. The strict separation of judicial from legislative power does not exist in reality; on the other hand, however, its very reverse has been sanctioned both by law and custom. No American thinks it inconsistent with the principles of liberty to have the supreme courts of the single states, and also the supreme court of the United States decide upon the "constitutionality of laws." But such decisions are nothing else than the exercise of legislative power. To decide whether a certain bill shall be a law or to decide whether it shall not be a law is essentially one and the same power. A supreme court deciding upon the constitutionality of a bill is practically a legislative body; its decision in the negative is equal to the vetoing power of the president, and nobody will deny the legislative power of the president.

This one case will, we hope, throw sufficient light on the question of the separation of the three powers. It shows clearly, that the theoretical separation of one political power from the other is very far from being the only protection from the evils of the abuse of political power. A country with very free institutions may permit the joint exercise of legislative and judicial power, and a country with very despotical institutions may, theoretically, forbid

e union of the powers. Thus, one of the best exposi-
rs of the constitution of England, the well-knew Walter
agehot, expresses himself as follows: "The efficient
cret of the English constitution may be described as the
ose union, the nearly complete fusion, of the executive
d legislative powers. According to the traditional theory,
it exists in all the books, the goodness of our constitu-
on consists in the entire separation of the legislative and
ecutive authorities; but in truth its merit consists in
eir singular approximation. The connecting link is the
binet. By that new word, we mean a committee of the
gislative body selected to be the executive body. The
gislature has many committees, but this is its greatest.
uses for this, its main committee, the men in whom it
s most confidence. It does not, it is true, choose them
rectly; but is nearly omnipotent in 'choosing them in-
rectly.'"

This will be rather a novel statement to those who
elieve that the separation of the three powers is the most
sirable panacea of liberty. It proves that the liberty
a country may and may not be co-existent with the
paration or union of political powers. Liberty, indeed,
es not depend on the union or separation of these
wers. It depends solely on the greater or lesser share
political co-operation on the part of the general people.
the generality of the people do not take interest in,
ave no right to the administration of the country, then
erty is without its real foundations, no matter whether
legislative power is united with or separated from the
licial or executive power.

A comparative view of the different constitutions of
ance, Austria, and Hungary will show this still clearer.
France, the theoretical separation of the three powers

has long been carried into effect. The executive power is distinct from the legislative power, not only at the summit of the official machinery, but down to the smallest offices of the parish. The term "administration," in its specific sense, means the activity of strictly executive officers. At the head of every "department" (county) of France, there is an executive officer, whose obligations and rights are of a strictly executive character. No private litigations to be decided by a formal judgment can come before him; he can in no emergency interfere with the rights of private persons to the actions or omissions of other private persons. Nor can he pass ordinances involving points of common law, as distinct from administrative law. He is, in the most precise form, an "administrative official."[1]

The position of the judiciary in France is likewise separated and marked off from the other political powers. They can never decide *on* the law, they have invariably to decide *by* the law, according to the existing law. They cannot interfere with the administrative machinery of the "department," and, consequently, an American "writ of mandamus" is an impossibility in France. The legislative power, again, is ultimately vested in the Assembly of France; and no judge, no court, can overrule a bill duly passed in both houses and confirmed by the president. Anything thus accepted is final law, exempt from further supervision or questions.

Here we have a clear case of the separation of the three powers. The example of France has been faithfully copied in the "crownlands" and "provinces" of Austria, and in both countries we can trace the working of the

[1] Our source and chief guide concerning the administrations France, Austria, and Hungary is the excellent book of Professor Tostein: "Ver Waltungslehe," the first attempt at a scientific constructi of administrative institutions.

inciple of separation. Does it really produce a larger mount of liberty? Does it really prove the desirable feguard of liberty? What is the answer of facts? In ite of her title as a republic, France is far less democrat-al than England. The reason of this is obvious. In rance, everything is decided at a few head-quarters. If, Perpignan (a city in the extreme south of France), a ridge has to be repaired, or a mill erected, permission has be obtained in Paris. If a small country road has to e brought into better shape, a petition has to be submitted the authorities in Paris. And this repeats itself in all reat and small departments of administration.

In one word, there is no trace of self-government, of unicipal independence in France. Everything is being one for the people, but nothing by the people. And, consequently, the people grow remiss in the assertion and exercise of political rights, and the life-spirit of liberty and political energy is undeveloped and faint. The whole machinery of the country being in the hands of a few magistrates in Paris, it becomes fatally easy to subvert and upset the form, or rather the name of the temporary government without any necessity of changing the vast bureaucracy of the whole country. Since 1791, France has nine times changed its mode of government, and from an empire it has become a republic, from a republic again it changed to a monarchy, and again to an empire and a republic. These momentous changes, which in other countries are accompanied with complete change in the inner structure, left the "bureaucracy" of France, and hence the whole system of the French body-politic untouched. Whatever the name of the Parisian government may be, the political institutions of France are decidedly undemocratical, unrepublican.

Not to the same extent, but equally undemocratical are the political institutions of Austria, as distinct from Hungary. There the sharply marked off administration stands out in strong contrast to both the judiciary and the legislative. But there, as well as in France, everything is settled at headquarters in the various capitals of the "crownlands," and "provinces;" and the mass of the people, seldom taking an active part in the exercise of political rights, are inexperienced, peaceful, and of a submissive character. The only reason why revolutions and formal changes of constitutions are less frequent in Austria than in France is to be found in the circumstance that Austria is not like France, strongly centralized in one city. The capitals of the various dependencies form as many centers, and hence revolutionary movements have to start from different points and different nationalities, and thereby loose their intensity.

In Hungary, again, although the constitution was thoroughly aristocratical before 1848, and is essentially so even now, still the vast majority of the people always took a lively interest in the exercise of political rights (the reason of which we have already pointed out); and, therefore, the country is saturated with politically mature minds, loyal as long as the constitution is left unimpaired, but always bent on the most outspoken assertions of their constitutional rights.

The tendency of democratical principles has become very prevalent in Europe. There are states like Norway and even Sweden, where the rights of the "Things" (Parliaments), are almost greater than those of the king himself, including, amongst others, the American law that two-thirds of the votes of both houses may overrule a royal veto. Such a law is entirely unknown to the co-

itutions of the other countries of Europe, England included.[1] This democratical tendency, the working of hich was first clearly perceived by DeTocqueville, the reat philosopher and political writer, has taken such a rm hold of the modern European mind, that it is, by all arties and on all hands, conceded to be the very element f politics, the a b c, as it were, out of which political peech must be constructed.

This principle, however, is essentially American, and t is, therefore, but a matter of course that many of the olitical institutions of America (we mean of the United States of America) have been eagerly copied by European tates. This applies more particularly to those cases where several independent states unite into one confederacy, like the Swiss Republic, the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the framing of the constitutions of these confederacies, the example of the American Union was kept constantly in view, and it thus happens that an understanding of the American confederacy is not only a patriotic duty of every American citizen, but also a scientific necessity.

The idea of a confederacy of states was not unknown to the classical ancients. The great Achaian League, as it is called, is a well-known example of such a union of states. The constituent parts of this league were cities, and not "states" in the modern sense of the word. This, however, does not alter its specific character as a confederacy of states, for classical antiquity did not know of any other form of states than of city-states. The cities belonging to the League were so many independent states, that is independent in internal affairs, but united for the purpose of increasing their strength and of centralizing their rela-

[1] But in England no Royal veto has been attempted for many reigns.

tions to the outside world. In the beginning, they had two presidents and a council. But they soon elected but one president, who, together with the board of the Demiurgoi, stood at the head of affairs. The executive power was not vested in the president alone. Some things he could do without the concurrent participation of the Demiurgoi; others, again, he could not do unless aided by that council. In this, the constitution of the Achaian League differed very materially from the American Union, where the power of the executive is vested in the president only.

This league of Achaian city-states is the historical forerunner of the great Union of America. It cannot be proved that the "fathers" of this country had a conscious knowledge of imitating the constitution of the Achaian League, it is almost certain that they had no, or very faint, knowledge of the similarity between the Greek confederacy and the one they were about to establish. This, however, does not change the fact, that the Achaian League is the historical analogue of the American Union. The union of the Dutch states, in the seventeenth century, was far less similar to the American confederacy.

The American Union has three leading features which make its characteristic nature: The Presidency, the Senate, the House of Representatives. In themselves, neither of these three elements of the American constitution can be considered a novel institution. There have been "presidents" in the great republics of Italy, or of Switzerland (those of Geneva, for instance, up to the end of the last century); there have been institutions like the Senate, and others like the House of Representatives. But none of these foreign institutions can be strictly identified with the American institution, nor have they ever been made to

work together in the precise way in which they are left to co-operate in America.

The two houses of the American Congress are not a mere copy of the two houses of the English constitution. It were a grevious mistake to think that, because this Union has been established by men of English descent, and because English institutions have been freely adopted by the settlers in the colonies, therefore the two houses of the American Congress were meant to be copies or imitations of the English precedent. In reality, however, the English example had nothing to do with the establishment of the two houses; they grew from a plain necessity of circumstances. The American confederacy consisted of several independent states. There were two things to be taken into consideration; first, the country at large, which was to form the new union; second, the single states of this union. The union was evidently distinct from the single states; it consisted of the union of all the inhabitants, or rather citizens of the county. The states, again, had interests of their own, distinct from the interests of the whole country. If, therefore, the government of the country was to be a representative government, it was a mere matter of logical consequence to grant two kinds of representatives, one for the country at large, and another for the single states. The deputies elected by a previously determined number of votes (forming a definite fraction of the whole population) are united in the "House of Representatives." The deputies elected by the states as such (and by each state in equal numbers) form the "Senate."

That this must be considered as the real cause of the two-fold division of the American Congress can be proved in the most cogent way by the fact, that wherever a similar state of circumstances did exist, there a similar consti-

tution was provided for. In the case of the Swiss confe eracy, it has been openly acknowledged to be a free imit tion of the American pattern, since the circumstances Switzerland are little less than identical with those of th American Union. In Switzerland as well as in America there are independent states, called "cantons" (twenty two in number) that in their aggregate form the Swis Union. Here, again, we have to meet the exigences of tw elements; first, the Swiss country at large, and, second, the cantons severally. Consequently, there are two houses of deputies. One, the *Staende-Rath*, composed of two deputies from every canton, whether small or great (forty-four in all); and the *National-Rath*, made up of deputies elected for three years, in the proportion of one for every twenty thousand souls. The Staende-Rath and the National-Rath are the exact equivalents of the American Senate and House of Representatives respectively. The same causes produced the same effects.

We have the same case in modern Germany. The German Empire is a union of twenty-five sovereign states —four kingdoms, six grand-duchies, five duchies, seven principalities, three free towns. Here, again, we have the two distinct elements: the German Empire on the one hand, the several German states on the other. In accordance with this circumstance, two Houses of Deputies have been established; one, the *Bundesrath*, the other, the *Reichstag* (Diet). The former consists of fifty-nine members, appointed for each session by the government of the individual states. The members of the Reichstag, three hundred and ninety-seven in number, are elected for a space of three years by universal suffrage. One membe is elected by every one hundred thousand inhabitants.

The same law repeats itself in Austria-Hungary

The Austro-Hungarian Empire is a union of two independent states: the Austrian states and the Hungarian state. The common interests of these two states are discussed by the "*Delegates*," meeting in Vienna or in Budapesth. These delegates form only one house. The example of Austria-Hungary will serve as the best illustration of that law, the working of which called into being the American Senate. If Austria-Hungary were one country, the union of two independent states, there would arise the necessity of establishing two houses of deputies; one for the country at large, and another for the separate interests of the two independent states. But Austria and Hungary do not form one country; they are no union, they are not confederacy. They are, as the political term has been accepted in Austria, "in personal union," that is to say, they are united in the person of Francis Joseph, who is both the Emperor of Austria and the King of Hungary. Outside this personal union there is no internal union between Hungary and Austria. The latter is considered a foreign country, and for goods imported from Austria to Hungary, customs duties have to be paid. Hence but one house is needed.

It will be clear now that the constitution of the United States requires a Congress consisting of two houses as the very element of its existence. To abolish the Senate and govern with one chamber only, like the Greeks in modern times, would most seriously impair the whole political machinery of the Union. On the other hand, there is no danger that the Senate will ever illegitimately increase its power, and endeavor to occupy a domineering position over the House of Representatives.

The third and most characteristic feature of the American constitution is the presidency. The President

of the United States is the chief magistrate of the country. In calling him the chief magistrate of the country, we have nearly exhausted his functions. It needs but one glance at the presidents of other republics to see the difference between them and the President of the United States. In Switzerland, the president is very far from being the chief magistrate of the country. In fact, he is infinitely less. He is a mere chairman. The executive power in the Swiss Republic is vested in a board of seven members, *Der Bundesrath*. The chairman of this board is the President of the Swiss Republic. His office, his rights, his obligations are no more and no less than the office, rights, and obligations of a chairman of any other board. In America, the ministers of the Cabinet are appointed by the President. They are his ministers, their actions are his actions. He can depose them at his will. He is not the mere chairman of the board of his ministers. He is the ministry. He is the executive. He is responsible.

It would seem to be the height of absurdity to doubt whether an American citizen knows the name of the President of the United States for the time being. There is no American citizen but knows it just as readily as he knows his own name. In Switzerland, however, two citizens out of ten will be found uncertain about the name of the gentleman who happens to be the chairman of the Bundesrath and, consequently, the President of the Swiss Republic.

The President of the United States of America is to all intents and purposes a magistrate vested with royal power; in short, a temporary king. This, unpleasant as it may sound to the ears of democratical citizens, is the cold fact of the matter. There is only one essential difference between a president vested with the power of an American

president and a king. A king can never be made personally responsible for his acts; he cannot legally be impeached. He can be deposed by main force; but he can not, in due legal form, be arraigned before a court of justice. To such a procedure, however, the president can be subjected. But, excepting this one point of difference, there is, *politically*, for the term of his office, no difference between an American president and a European king; but, of course, *socially*, there is an immense difference. Had the presidents of the United States been permitted to remain in office "during good behaviour," (as it was suggested by Alexander Hamilton) they would have occupied the position of the Florentine *Gonfaloniers*, that is, they would have still more resembled elected kings.

It does not need much reflection to understand why in the vastly complicated political structure of the United States, a board of executive officers (like the Swiss Bundesrath) in lieu of one president would be infeasible. As long as the states of the Union preserve the least elements of democratical institutions, and as long as the citizens of the Union continue to adhere to distinct political parties, so long will the presidency of the Union be vested in one magistrate, and the seeming contradiction and inconsistency between the royal power of the President and the republican character of the country cannot be tided over. It is one of those inconsistencies which are necessitated by the frailty of human nature. They are direct products of the prevailing circumstances, and conform easily to the actual and practical necessities of life, although they frequently clash with the demands of theory. Theory has very little to say in the construction of constitutions. The mainspring of constitutions always was and always will be expediency.

In this chapter, we have been considering the institutions of Modern Society. Taken in connection with the institutions of Ancient Society,[1] the thoughtful mind finds much to consider. One truth seems to stand out with great clearness. All our present institutions of social life, all organizations for governmental purposes, all relations in society, are found to be the result of a growth out of pre-existing institutions. We have attempted to trace this growth from pre-historic times down. For a part of the way, the road was unbeaten.[2] With all caution we have attempted to lay down the probable line of advance. We have little doubt that, in the main, future researches will but strengthen the positions here advanced, though some of the details may require modification.

What a truly great and elevating idea of man's capacities, history, and destiny is now unfolded to view. The progress has been ever upward, ever onward. Starting from the communal band, where the only division was along the line of sex, where the only rights, duties, and obligations pertained to individual groups, where personal relations were unknown, how infinitely great the progress to the modern state, with its complex series of family, social, state, national, and international rights and duties. Let us not make the mistake of judging the destiny of humanity by the aspects of our own life, times, or nation. We must learn to judge humanity as a whole, and bear in mind that decades, centuries, even chiliads of years are but a trifle in the life of man.

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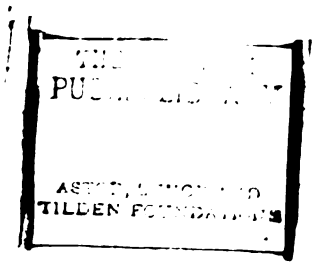
[1] Vol. II. chap. ii.

[2] There has been no systematic attempt to trace the origin of tribal society. See Vol. II.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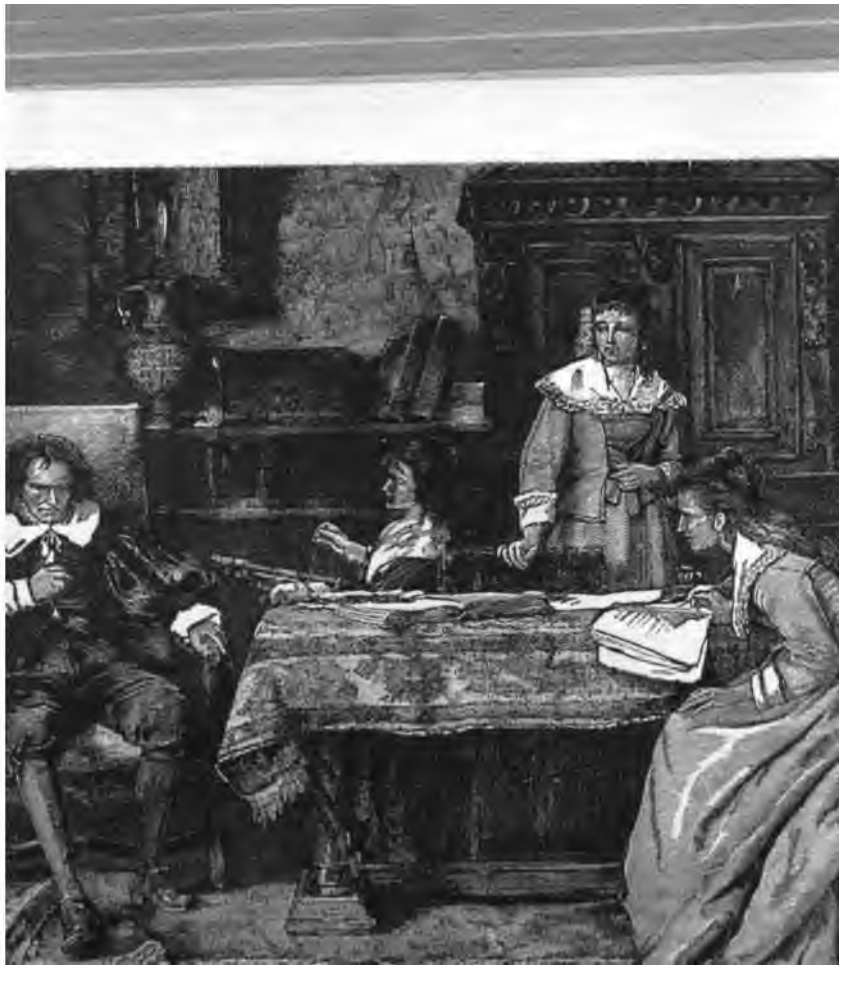

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—Insignificance of the [illegible]
—Rise of the New [illegible]
Development of [illegible]
ing in Europe—[illegible]
opment of Freed[illegible]
England—Eliza[illegible]
—Toleration in [illegible]
Freedom in England—[illegible]
Hume—Adam Smith—[illegible]
Revolution—Voltaire [illegible]
and its Results—[illegible]
State of German [illegible]
Culture—Growth of [illegible]
Beginning of [illegible]
Galileo—Influence [illegible]
Sciences in the [illegible]
cieties—Sir Isaac New[illegible]
in the Eighteenth [illegible]
Analysis—Dis[illegible]
The Development [illegible]
Agassiz—Darwin and [illegible]
of the Fittest—[illegible]
Locomotive Engine—[illegible]
Improvements in Man[illegible]
—[illegible]
Universal Rule

OUR SUBJECT, as outlined some pages back, now demands that we should consider the present state of intellectual development in the Old World. We want to tell the story of the gradual unfolding of intellectual life in Europe during the last few centuries. This, taken in connection with

preceding chapters,[1] will, we trust, make clear the fact that man has lived a life of progress. Beginning at the zero point, he has moved forward, perhaps with many a halt, and here and there, perhaps a backward step, but, on the whole, he has steadily advanced.

In no one respect, is the difference between political history and a history of culture more strongly marked than in the treatment of individuals. Political history emphasizes the importance of individual men; it is concerned with the lives and accomplishments of individual kings, soldiers, and statesmen. In a history of culture, the individual is simply carried along in the progressive movement of the mass. Our present inquiry brings this result out with great clearness.

It is true, that to every great invention some historic name is attached as its author; with every plan of reform, some man or woman is heralded as its founder. It is further a matter of experience, that all minds are by no means of equal cultivation and power, and that there is such a thing as rare development of intellect in certain quarters; but further investigation shows us that, with rare exceptions, every great advance in culture and civilization is but the culmination of a long line of progressive steps.

As we proceed in the study of modern culture, we will be impressed, again and again, with the force of this statement. We will learn that Bacon alone is not the pioneer of free speech. Columbus did not sit down in the quiet of his study and figure out the problem that led to the discovery of new lands.[2] Guttenberg alone can not claim the

[1] Vol. I. ch. xv. Vol. II. ch. iii. Vol. III. chs. vi, vii., and viii.

[2] "That which imparted to the age of Columbus its peculiar character of uninterrupted and successful efforts toward the attainment of new discoveries and extended geographical knowledge was prepared slowly and in various ways."—Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 240. Otté's translation.

honor of inventing printing.[1] Watt was not the sole inventor of the steam-engine with all its complicated machinery. Morse did by no means unaided develop the science of telegraphy. All of these men, remarkable though they are, learned many of the rudimentary steps in their chosen fields, from earlier investigators.

So we might catalogue the whole list of great discoveries thrown out in the development of modern culture, and it will almost always be found that every achievement has been reached by innumerable weary steps, often wearing many lives away, before the consummation is reached. Thus new inventions and new discoveries will arise whenever human progress has developed the necessary preliminary links. For example, Columbus appeared when the spirit of discovery was at its height; and eight years after his first voyage, Cabral, by accident, discovered the coast of Brazil. Some one would, no doubt, have made the same voyage if Columbus had never lived. Newton conceived the idea of the force of gravitation as the power that holds the planets in their orbits, and the stars in their courses; but even he was forced to wait for sixteen years until Picart had corrected the old measurements of the earth, and then he was able to verify his calculations.[2]

Then, too, the atmosphere of culture often becomes so surcharged with developing ideas that two or more minds grasp the same idea at the same time. Thus Adams and Leverrier, at the same time, though independently, by long and complicated calculations, accurately

[1] "The invention of printing was probably made simultaneously and wholly independently by Gutenberg in Strasburg and Mayence, and by Lorenze Yanssen Koster at Haarlem."—Ibid. 249.

[2] Vide Buckley: "History of Natural Sciences," New York, 1876, p. 159.

pointed out the position of the planet Neptune, for whicl astronomers had been searching for years. So, too, Wal

Cologne Cathedral.

lace and Darwin, the one in the Malay Archipelago an the other in England, worked out, "sometimes in almos

e same word " the Darwinian theory of " natural selec-
n."[1] From these and many other facts known to his-
rians, it has become almost an axiom, that the age makes
e man, rather than that any one man creates a new era
culture.

The factors of modern civilization are universal re-
gious freedom, popular government, universal tolerance,
edom of speech, universal education, etc., which may
e all comprised under the heading of Individual Rights.
modern civilization, we note the absence of knighthood,
ivalry, and feudalism; slavery and serfdom have finally
isappeared from the civilization of Aryan people; that
due reverence for kings and royal families, so general
medieval times, seems to be passing away. Indeed, it
, as we have said, the "reign of the people." In viewing
odern civilization, however, we must remember that the
rms of its leading factors were planted way back in the
erile soil of medieval times, and have only matured by
e fertilizing power of constant agitation. And, although
e must adopt some period as the dawn of modern culture,
e must remember that the tints of morning twilight had
en growing ever brighter and more refulgent for many
nerations ere we behold the brightness of the modern
n. So, too, as the sun rises on various longitudes at dif-
rent hours of the day, in a similar way does the modern
a dawn on various nations at different periods of time.
t we can fix no arbitrary dates.

Society, in our day, comprises the entire people.
dern culture is enjoyed, in Aryan countries at least, by
whole mass of mankind. It is possible now for the
ividual to rise from the lowliest walks of life to a seat
ong the rulers of the world. The truly educated man,

[1] Ibid. 292.

no matter what his birth and calling, if he be free from vices, is welcome in the most refined circles of society. Such was not the case in medieval times. The people, as a whole, were then subject to two classes of masters—the nobility and the priesthood—who either acted in unison to oppress the people, or else, by their quarrels, ruined the people altogether. As the latter could not be hereditary, it was the only channel through which the private individual could attain to power or eminence; and it is not strange, therefore, that its ranks became filled with the ambitious rather than the pious.

It seems to have been the policy of both of these ruling factors to keep the people in ignorance. It was impious to trade with unbelievers; it was much more impious to accept or listen to any of their heretical teachings. It was heresy to study anything not from the pen of some father of the church. It was heresy to study the forces of Nature and learn new laws. It is not too much to state that everything new was heresy. Aristotle contained all that there was to be known in science, ethics, etc. If a new theory were advanced and could not be found in or verified by Aristotle, it was necessarily false.[1]

During the closing years of medieval times, therefore, we find that all the new knowledge and advanced ideas were locked up in the forbidden parchments of the Jews, the Greeks, and the Mohammedans; and what dribblings fell to the laymen of the Latin Church were mere drops from the corroded and ofttimes corrupted pens of an

[1] "Never had monarch been so universal and absolute as Aristotle. For two thousand years, he had dictated to the nations what to believe . . . His autocratical edict was placed by the side of the Gospel. His Ten Categories, which pretend to classify every object of human apprehension, were held as another Revelation." Welsh: "Development of English Literature and Language," Vol. I. p. 331

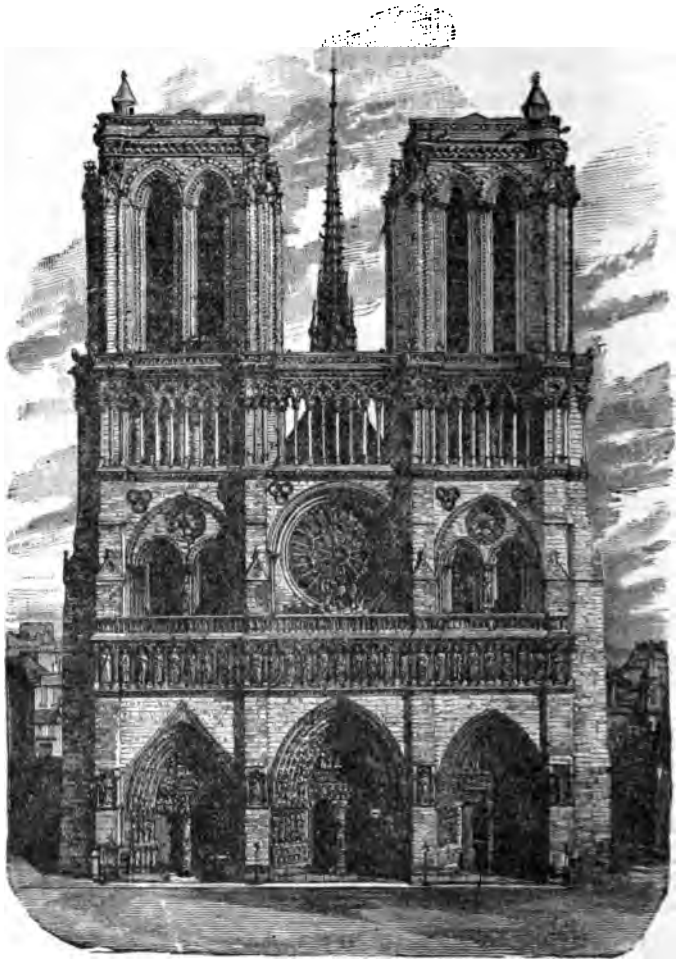
ignorant priesthood. But the voice of knowledge could not be thus hushed. The development of Aryan intellect could not be thus repressed. A new learning was pressing forward, demanding recognition. And what soil would be more fertile to receive this new learning than that of sunny Italy; and there, at length, we find the germs taking root. Soon we behold the full plant growing luxuriantly and sending its seeds into all Aryan lands.

When Islam began to spread its blighting influence over the Eastern Empire and the seats of later Greek culture, some of the scholars of Alexandria and other Grecian cities found exile homes in Italy. From the humble dwellings of these exiles there emanated a spirit of learning that spread to the shores of the Atlantic, and not only revived the study of old authors, but set the world ablaze with new ideas that did not cease to glow under the ban of both Church and Crown. From that time until Mohammed II. entered Constantinople as conqueror, this Greek culture continued to pour into Italy. According to Draper, the first token of intellectual emancipation in Europe was the movement of the great Italian poets led by Dante.[1] We must, however, take partial exception to this statement, for Roger Bacon[2] had already broken loose from the restraints of the Church, asserting his right to draw knowledge from any source. In order, therefore, to fully understand the work that Dante accomplished, we must remember that the literary language of Europe was Latin. As long as nations were subject to the rule of the church, it was for the interest of the church to have a universal language. Latin was adopted as that

[1] Vide Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 467. Dante, 1265-1321—a Florentine poet and statesman.

[2] England, 1214-1292.

language. The church liturgy was recited in Latin. order that a book should receive the sanction of the Chu and meet popular favor as a literary work, it must written in Latin.



Notre Dame.

In what are now the Romance countries of West Europe, Latin had been forced upon the people in conn tion with Roman laws and government. Thus the peo were bred to the use of Latin almost as a native tong

After the fall of the Western Empire, there came a time when the common dialects of France, Spain, and Italy formed such a medley of tongues, that no one was common to all the people. The epitaph of Pope Gregory V., who died at the close of the tenth century, was written in three dialects—Frankish, the vulgar, and the Latin—in order that all might understand.[1]

But, whenever the literary language is different from the common language of the people, popular ignorance is sure to prevail. It was so in this case. Even a large portion of the priesthood did not understand the liturgy which they recited. It dawned upon the world, at that time, that European nations had silently passed through a transition period, whereby the old dialects had become changed into new tongues. There was then no learning among the people. The mass could neither read nor write and dared not think for themselves. As unpromising as this condition may seem, it was one of the most important steps in the progress of literature. For, when the attempt was made to again introduce letters among the people, it was found advantageous to translate the Latin books into the vulgar tongues. King Aelfred realized this at once, and his reign is celebrated for the number of books that appeared in the English language, even from the pen of the king. Still the learned clung tenaciously to Latin as the proper vehicle for the expression of their thoughts.[2]

Dante was not the first to write in Italian. He wrote in both Latin and Italian. It was, his "Divine Commedia" that first stamped the Italian as a literary language. Then, too, Dante, was the first writer to embody in his writings much of the new learning that had already been

[1] Hallam: "Middle Ages," Vol. II. p. 482.
[2] Draper, Op. cit. p. 467.

introduced into Italy by Greek exiles.[1] The work that Dante began was taken up and carried forward by his countrymen, Boccaccio[2] and Petrarch.[3] But this spirit of progress was not confined to Italy. We believe that many authors err in giving Italy the foremost place in this early struggle of the world for freedom. We have had occasion to mention Roger Bacon and others.[4] Wycliffe[5] had already taken up the cause of popular liberty and was making the king tremble on his throne, spreading his tracts from one end of the kingdom to the other. He was preceded by the mad monk, John Ball, and that friend of the poor and oppressed, William Longland. Wycliffe, however, was the first to preach directly against church rule. The great burden of his teachings was, that "dominion in the highest sense is in God alone", and it paved the way for a later generation of reformers who fully established the reign of the new learning. Contemporary with the above names appears that of Chaucer,[6] the first of England's great poets and who like Dante established the use of a vulgar tongue for the highest form of literature.

Now, if we turn again to Italy, we will perceive what great strides the exiled Greek thought had made. It had reached the home of the great Medici family, two of whom, Cosmo[7] and his grandson Lorenzo "the Magnificent",[8] lavished their immense fortunes upon the promotion of letters. They were patrons of the Greek learning that was trying to take root in Italy. Cosmo da Medici was even willing to console his dying moments with the promises of Platonism.[9] The great work of the Medici, however, was their

[1] Dante, even in his life time, was called by some a poet; by others, a philosopher; by others, a theologian. Burckhardt: "Renaissance in Italy," London, 1878. Vol. I. p. 190. [2] 1313-1375. [3] 1304-1374.

[4] This Series Vol. III. p. 425. Cf. Humboldt: "Cosmos," Vol. II. p. 241. [5] 1324-1384. [6] 1340-1400. [7] 1389-1464. [8] 1448-1492.

[9] Draper, p. 467.

apt to collect the works of the old authors into libra-

Lorenzo was the first patron of Michael Angelo,[1] e masterpieces in painting, sculpture, and architecture ght into life a spirit of creation in art. His works, over have never been equalled by more recent artists. The forming of a library was a far more difficult task ose days than at present. Until the later years of the

Michael Angelo.

ici, a single fire might destroy the entire works of old author, and thus would the world be robbed of the work of a great man. For it often happened that an or's works existed only in the form of a single auto- h manuscript of the writer. Books then were mul- ed only by the slow process of copying with the pen,

[1] 1474-1563.

and it was often difficult to find a rare book in ord
make a new copy. This was expensive work, and it
not even pay a poor man to try to learn to read. W
Cosmo da Medici wished to form a new library, it
forty-five writers twenty-two months to furnish about
hundred volumes; and we must remember that these
but single copies. Every new library required jus
much work as the first, for there was as yet no way of
tiplying books by any other process. When we thin
paying five hundred dollars for a mere copy of Strabo
begin to realize the amount of work necessary to for
library.[1]

It was considered a wonderful achievement, w
some one conceived the idea of engraving a text of sc
ture, and then a page of a book, upon a block of w
inking it, and making an impression on paper. This
however, only one step toward the printing-press, and
atmosphere of the world became so filled with the dem
for a more rapid way of producing books, that mov
letters sprang into use almost simultaneously at Haarl
Mentz, and Venice. Letters were first cut from block
wood, next from pieces of metal, and, finally, the pro
of casting was introduced.[2]

Thus printing came to be a practical art, for a sin
font of type could be used over and over again for the
pose of printing all manner of manuscript. The ar
printing was soon introduced into France and Engla
By the close of the fifteenth century, it is estimated t
more than ten thousand editions of books and pamph
had been printed by the various presses of Europe. Bo
were now placed within the reach of all. Then, too, if

[1] Burchardt: "Renaissance in Italy," Vol. I. p. 261 *et seq.*
[2] Draper: p. 471; also Buckley: "History of Natural Sciences," p

lition of a work were once printed and distributed, all ıe powers of the Church could not gather all the volumes ɔr burning.[1] The chances were, now, that no book could ecome extinct unless it died a natural death. Still the rt of printing had to fight its way into common use against oth superstition and prejudice. The first printers, from he secrecy with which they surrounded their work, were upposed to be in league with the Devil. Then, too, vealthy Italian scholars were ashamed to own printed ɔooks, which contrasted very unfavorably with their ırtistic and finely-bound manuscripts.[2] Not so, however, he people as we shall see.

In all this early printing, Venice took the lead. The knowledge that had been locked up in Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and even Arabic, became more generally known as the favorite authors' works were printed and scattered abroad. Leonardo da Vinci[3] was the scholar of his day. He was a great painter, but he did not hesitate to enter almost every field of learning, and usually led wherever he went, gaining the title of a man of "almost preternatural knowledge." We must not overlook the effect hat the discoveries of the great Genoese navigator, Columbus, had upon the knowledge of this time. Although ıe was known to be a devout Catholic, when pleading his ause at the court of Spain, he was bitterly denounced by ome over-skeptical fathers as being on the very verge of ieresy.[4]

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[1] It was customary, if a book proved unorthodox, for the pope to rder it burned by the common executioner.

[2] Burkhardt, Op. cit. pp. 270–1.

[3] Florence, 1452-1519.

[4] Passages from Lactantitus and St. Augustine were quoted to show iat Columbus' theories were "incompatible with the historical founda-ons of our faith." (Cf. Irving: "Columbus," Vol. I. pp. 89, 90). This gument has, to-day, a familiar sound.

When, however, Columbus proved by his voyages, that the earth was round, and that there were antipodes, these fanatics felt themselves rebuked and humiliated; and

Cathedral at Rheims.

they thenceforth treasured in their hearts a deep hatred against the great navigator, which, at last, developing into

open hostility, robbed Columbus of many of his hardly earned honors, and embittered the closing days of his life. But the world had made one great step in advance; and by robbing the ocean of its terrors, Columbus had also dealt a stunning blow to the s on that cursed his age.

Great alarm spread a ng the fathers of the Church as they noted the rapid l of books and the accompanying education of the people. From the ranks of the laymen, there now arose a few individuals who dared to face the horrors of the Inquisition for the sake of truth. From the ranks of the people, there arose scholars who dared to think for themselves and brand the superstitions of the middle ages as false. This new learning did not find the Alps an insurmountable barrier, but climbing the mountains, it gradually embraced all Europe. John Huss died at the stake for religious freedom; and scholars, here and there, began to hear of the new learning in which the Italians excelled. Earnest pilgrims, thirsting after truth, journeyed across the Alps to learn from the Greek exiles the philosophy of the ancients.

But these pioneers of modern culture did not simply glean here and there a stray head of grain, they pondered over what they learned and bound every idea, new to them, with modern thought and experience, carrying back with them golden sheaves of knowledge. Thus was the study of Greek and Hebrew extended to the universities of Western Europe. These studies were fought by the Church as fiercely as ever was the introduction of the vulgar dialects.[1] In later medieval times, the great univer-

[1] "With a quick, a jealous suspicion, the ecclesiastics soon learned to detect a heretic from his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. . . . Long after the time of which we are speaking, the University of Paris resisted the introduction of Greek into its course of study, not because of any dislike to letters, but because of its anticipated obnoxious bearing on

sities, with their thousands of students,[1] not only ha leavening effect upon the prevailing ignorance, but v extremely aggressive in the introduction of new learn And these institutions increased in popularity and n ber as the human mind became freed from its servilit past superstition.

During the two centuries immediately preceding Reformation, many new universities were organi

John Locke.

prominent among which were the following: Prague (13 Vienna (1365), Heidelberg (1386), Cologne (1388), Er (1392), Leipzig (1409), Rostock (1419), Greifswald (14 Freiburg (1457), Basle (1460), Ingoldstadt (1472), Tu gen (1477), Wittemberg (1502), and Frankfurt on Oder (1506). The first eight of these universities v

Latin theology."—Draper, Op. cit. p. 469.

[1] It is estimated that in the time of Henry III. there were 3 students at Oxford, and 10,000 at Bologna. Two centuries later, the versity of Paris accommodated 25,000.—Hallam: "Middle Ages. II. p. 607.

founded after the model of the University of Paris, under the patronage of either the clergy or certain princes; but the remainder were established for the purpose of advancing the study of the Classics, or of this new learning of which we have been speaking.[1] As might have been foretold, many of these universities became hot-beds of so-called heresy.

Now we must not imagine that all this new learning was borne across the Alps and planted in sterile soil, for such does not seem to have been the case. We have seen how the Arabs had settled in Spain, and penetrated France as far as Provence and Languedoc. When their teachings became offensive to the Church, we have seen how the Albigensians were almost exterminated by a crusade organized for that purpose.[2] It was from these semi-Mohammedan regions that a portion of the advanced thought began, like leaven, to permeate the whole kingdom of France. Then, there was quite a sprinkling of Jews throughout the kingdom. The Jewish physician combined "with his professional skill a profound knowledge of theology, mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, music, law."[3] At last, these Jews were banished the kingdom because of their heretical teachings.

Still, their teachings had gained root in French soil. The lawyers gained a knowledge of true philosophy and logic, and both lawyers and physicians therefore gained the hatred of the ecclesiastics. As Draper puts it: "The lawyers were hated because they replaced supernatural logic by philosophical logic; the physicians, because they broke down the profitable but mendacious system of miracle

[1] Sometimes called Humanism. Vide Scherer: "History of German Literature," Conybeare's translation, edited by F. Max Muller, Vol. I. pp. 264-6.

[2] Draper, p. 433. [3] Ibid. 417.

cures by relics and shrines."[1] Then, about this same time, there occurred the great struggle between the French kings and the popes, which led to the so-called Second Captivity at Avignon (1307–1377). The real point at issue, was whether kings received their authority from God, or from the Pope. The kings maintained that they were in no way subject to the popes for their crowns. This struggle was carried to such an extent, by a post-mortem trial of Boniface VIII., as to reveal the corruption of the pontiff's court.[2] Such struggles and revelations could have no other effect than to disgust the people and alienate them from both pope and king. In this manner, the way was prepared for the new learning that was soon to cross the Alps into France.

We have already seen how the people of England and France were prepared for the introduction of new culture, and so likewise were all German speaking people by the founding of universities for the purpose of teaching advanced ideas. Then there followed a generation of scholars who had journeyed into Italy to study with the Greek exiles, and brought back with them a knowledge of Classical studies. Then there gathered about the halls of Oxford great throngs of students to listen to these new and startling truths. Grocyn[3] was stirring the students to greater activity by his lectures on Greek. Linacre opened to the Oxonians the broad fields of science as taught at Florence. Colet[5] revealed the truths of the Gospels as recorded in the original Greek, unblemished by the mistakes of intermediate interpreters.

Colet also founded and endowed a school for the education of the poor, and Lily,[6] the first teacher of Greek in

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[1] "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 408. [2] Draper, p. 396.
[3] 1442-1519. 1460-1524 [5] 1466-1519. [6] 1466-1523.

ınd, was stationed in this school as teacher. Latimer[1] s time was beginning a fearless ministry against the of the religion of that day. King Henry VIII. was on of this new learning and under his protection the ersity of Oxford became the center of western knowl- ınd the champion of advanced thought. Many stu-

John Stuart Mills.

who could not make the expensive journey across the began to quench their thirst for learning at the fount- f Oxford. Erasmus,[2] a poor orphan from Rotterdam, hither and filled his longing soul with the rich truths

172-1555. 2 1467-1536.

that flowed from the lips of Colet; then he went forth utter such burning words against the injustice of kings to shake their very thrones. Even the liberalism of Henr VIII.[1] could bear his utterances no longer, and Erasmu sought safety on the continent.

Sir Thomas More[2] was a student at Oxford about th same time. In rank, he stood among the nobility, an Henry VIII. gladly advanced him to the most responsibl positions in his government. No sooner had More left th University than he became famous throughout Europe. There was a charm about his conversation that conquere the king and attracted the peasant. But he was no servil slave to royalty. He did not court the smile of his sover eign. Though free from servility to the dogmas of ecclesi astics, he was a devout Catholic. His whole soul wa filled with ideas of reform, and these he set forth in burn ing irony and satire in his story of the kingdom of "No where," or Utopia.

By picturing forth an ideal land, he could paint happy scenes—a people blessed with all comforts and virtues o life; the poor freed from the oppression of the rich; crime punished only in proportion to its enormity; the government most liberal and kindly; the religion the purest Christianity as taught in the Gospels. Sir Thomas More's life was in keeping with his teachings; and when it came to the test, rather than perjure himself by false actions, he went cheerfully to the block, and became a martyr to this new learning.

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1 Henry VIII. liberalism was strangely original. He rather encouraged than feared this new learning. He knew his own strength, while he took little pains to check the extravagance of his emboldened subjects When any one of them became dangerous to the king's plans, it was a few hours in the tower, then the block, and the king was freed from all annoyance. 2 1480-1535.

3 Greene: "History of the English People," Vol. II. p. 97.

The germs of this new learning were planted in Ger-ny, when Heinrich von Langenstein went as a teacher m the University of Paris to that of Vienna.[1] By king a vigorous attack upon the prevailing astrological perstitions, he paved the way for future astronomers. hen there appeared the book (well known in our own day en) entitled, "Imitation of Christ,"[2] the authorship of hich is attributed to various German authors.[3] Mr. raper[4] says that "every man his own priest," would be appropriate title for this work. It is claimed that more pies of it have been printed than of any other book, ex-pt the Bible. Thus is manifested the degree of skepti-m that prevailed in Germany even at the beginning of e fifteenth century, which was to eventuate in so much od to the world at large.

When a new generation of scholars came into prom-nce, we find the great Regiomontanus[5] following in the ps of Langenstein, and pushing onward the study of ence. Soon Agricola[6] appeared at Heidelberg, and ent his short life in trying to promote "a taste for liter-re among his contemporaries. No German wrote in so re a style, or possessed so large a portion of Classical rning."[7]

By the close of the fifteenth century, the Rhenish ciety, established for the advancement of new learning, s in a very flourishing condition. Conrad Celtes,[8] the of a German peasant, is said to have been the most

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About 1383. Vide Scherer: "History of German Literature," p. 265.
"De Imitatione Cristi."
Usually Thomas a Kempis (1379-1471), although there are a number i mants.
"Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 470.
Johann Muller (1436-1476). [6] 1443-1485.
Hallam: "Literature of Europe," Pt. I. p. 217.
Crowned with laurel by Frederick III., 1487. Hallam, Op. cit. p. 218.

celebrated member of that society. He was called the "wandering preacher of Humanism," and spent his time travelling from one university to another, lecturing and founding literary societies. Thus, by constant agitation of these vital subjects, the advocates of advance thought began to broaden their ideas and demand a thorough, systematic education. It was in this atmosphere that Erasmus

Edinburgh Castle.

was born, and started upon his noble career, drifting thence into England. A broader education tends toward independent views, and German scholars soon began to throw off their servitude to Classical writers, and to think for themselves.[1]

The fifteenth century was ushered in, in Germany, by

[1] Cf. Scherer, Op. cit. p. 265-8.

a dispute over the proposition of burning all of the Hebrew manuscripts in that country, except the Old Testament. This strife brought Reuchlin[1] into prominence, and led to the organization, at Erfurt, of a band of young scholars—the Order of Mutianus—who conjointly produced the "Epistles of Obscure Men," which had for its double object the defence of the study of Hebrew and the ridicule of ignorant, superstitious, and licentious ecclesiastics, drawing their characters and their vicious habits from real incidents in the surrounding social life. And now Martin Luther appears upon the scene. But we must note the long and tedious steps that had already been taken in the direction of this new learning previous to Luther's time. The spirit of reform did not jump into being at his beck, but arose, step by step, calling upon that great leader to take command when everything was ripe for the consummation of the Great Reformation.

But we are wandering from our subject. We are here concerned with Luther and his great work only as it affected the literature of that period. Now, it is a noteworthy fact, that the Reformation and the resulting struggles between the great religious factions not only interrupted the gradual progress of new learning, but destroyed almost all branches of culture, and even society itself, for the population of Germany was almost annihilated before the close of the "Thirty Years' War." Like a long-gathering storm, when the Reformation finally came, it wrought more or less havoc. The great literary work of Germany, until after the re-organization of society, at the close of the religious wars of the seventeenth century, was Luther's translation of the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek manuscripts.[2]

[1] 1455-1522.

[2] Scherer, Op. cit. p. 274.

Previous to this, the literature of Germany had no favorite dialect. There were Low German and High German, and other dialects of minor importance. Luther wrote in High German, and made it the literary language of all Germany. Then his translation of the Bible "laid the foundation of a common culture for all ranks of society and opened a whole intellectual world to the people. Luther's Bible was an inexhaustible source of grand and edifying thoughts, a noble and imperishable literary monument, a treasure often worshiped to a point of superstition and abuse."

After Luther began his fight with the Roman church, the amount of German literature increased many-fold. It is said that during eight years[1] the number of printing-presses increased nine-fold. But religion was the all-absorbing topic. Newspapers had already begun to appear,[2] but regularly numbered journals were not known before the middle of the last half of the century. The reformers entered every path of life and did not, of course, neglect the educational. Melanchthon was the leader in organizing the old German school system that remained in vogue for over two centuries. He wrote the text books for many of the best schools and colleges of that day. Copernicus, Gesner, and Paracelsus belong to this period. They were Germans, though the last two did not dwell in what is now a part of the German Empire. The seventeenth century opened upon Germany with the book trade[3] rapidly increasing, and all classes on the highway to knowledge; but the blighting curse of war swept down upon this people, and its fields and homesteads were transformed into battle

[1] 1516-1524.

[2] "Zeitungen." The first at Augsburg, 1505. Vide Scherer, Op. cit. p. 285; cf. Draper, Op. cit. p. 475, who fixes the date at 1563, and Venice as the place.

[3] Scherer, Op. cit. p. 315.

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ds and grave-yards, and a new culture at last arose from se ruins.

The early literature of France seems to have aided le in this cry for freedom that thus early rose from other rts of Europe. Francis I. was a patron of literature, ugh not as prominent a patron of advance thought as contemporary across the Channel, Henry VIII. ment Marot,[1] who stands pre-eminent among the poets the sixteenth century, was the French king's favorite. did much to improve the style of French poetry.[2] ienne de la Boetie[3] seems to have been the first repub- n agitator among the writers of France.[4] The burden his cry was against the absolute power of kings, and servility of subjects. This was the middle of the six- nth century. Ronsard had already, however, organized "Pleiades," a society of seven, whose main object was improvement of the French language. La Boetie is n classed as one of the "minor Ronsardists." 1500

The pioneer of political oratory, and of that tolerance t modern culture grants both Catholic and Protestant s L'Hopital,[5] who was chancellor of the kingdom while tharine de Medici was in power. By his wise and noble nduct, he was deemed worthy of being called "a second sor Cato." Calvinism was at its height at this time. n Calvin[6] was a Frenchman, and shortly before the

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[1] 1497-1544.

[2] Marot's royal mistress was the Queen of Navarre, who, in her celebrated book, "Heptameron," paints in colors true to nature the low and licentiate condition of society in those times. The book is read more, say, for its indecencies than for its literary merits. Vide Bridge: "Story of French Literature," p. 133.

[3] 1530-1563.

"La Boetie is almost the single instance of a republican character nearly the period of the Revolution."—Hallam, quoted in Bridge, ubi. p. 208.

[5] 1503-1573. [6] 1509-1564.

middle of the sixteenth century had published his "Institution sur la Religion Chretienne," the greatest work that the Reformation had produced.[1] Pamphlets first appeared during the sixteenth century, and thus had been discovered a new agency in the matter of agitation. Scores of pamphlets appeared and were scattered broadcast over the kingdom.

Rabelais[2] and Montaigne[3] belong to this period also. Of the former, we need simply say that he belonged to that class of French writers (who, in fact, are not yet extinct), who, by their foulness, have been rendered unfit for the perusal of modern readers who respect purity in thought and action. Skepticism as to the right or justice of existing laws or customs was one of the first steps toward toleration. Montaigne was the first skeptical writer in the French language,[4] and so we are prepared to hear that he was the first to teach "the innocence of error and the evil of persecution."[5] He died in the last decade of the sixteenth century, but we shall find that his ideas were not given to the world in vain—they lived after him and spread over the whole of France.

We have now gained an idea of the origin of freedom of speech. We have seen how, from solitary examples of bold reformers, there had arisen a host of fearless talkers and writers in every land who dared to raise their voices in behalf of the rights of the individual to defend himself and his family from the oppressive authority of the Church and the nobility. But, from the first manifestations of this spirit of freedom, the ruling factions (princes and ecclesiastics) took alarm, and we detect the spirit of intolerance,

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1 Bridge, Op. cit. p. 115. 2 1483-1553. 3 1533-1592.
4 Vide Lecky: "Rationalism in Europe," Vol. I. p. 111.
5 Op. cit. Vol. II. p. 63

luxuriating in the rank growth of bigotry and superstition, that had overspread the world, watching its chance to strike down the individual who dared to raise his voice for freedom.

We need not go back to the beginning to trace the growth of this spirit of tolerance, under whose benignant smile society has developed into its modern state of culture. We have seen how Roger Bacon was led to prison; we saw Columbus on the verge of heresy; we saw Duke Alva murdering his thousands of Protestants in Holland; and when we enter the fields of science, we will see one votary after another forfeiting his life for the sake of truths that were first revealed to him. We have now reached a time when the spirit of intolerance seemed to rule all classes of people.

Henry VIII. was a strong and seemingly tolerant sovereign, but even the great statesmen, Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Thomas More, could not, with impunity, oppose his plans for divorcing his first wife, Catharine, without suffering the extreme penalty of that great monarch's displeasure. England, under Mary the Catholic, was extremely intolerant. The Queen, as wife of Philip II. of Spain, tried to co-operate with him in exterminating Protestantism. Henry's favorite preacher, Latimer, his archbishop, Cranmer, and many others who had been his instruments in establishing the English Church, were burned during her reign for heresy.[1]

Elizabeth, on the other hand, was more politic. She adopted her father's course, that was a system of toleration of everything that did not run counter to her own plans. She favored the Church of England, but we do not find her murdering her subjects on account of their

[1] For this time, see Greene: "History of the English People."

religious beliefs. In fact, the long reign of Elizabeth was a great season of growth, not only in toleration but in every branch of culture. At the beginning of her reign, appeared Jewel's "Apology for the Church of England;" near the close, Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity." The names of these books will themselves indicate the freedom with which church affairs were discussed. While the former, however, bases its arguments upon the traditions of the Church, the latter insists upon the exercise of reason.[1] Thus, a general spirit of inquiry and doubt was springing up. It became customary to discuss religious doctrines and creeds, and the bars of infallibility that had been erected about the monumental teachings of the fathers were ruthlessly torn down and in many cases revealed nothing but fallacies.

Cardinal Wolsey.

Before passing on to study the growth of toleration on the continent, we must turn aside to review the literature of England during the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, for it ranks first in time, and had a leavening influence upon the world at large. We have now reached a period when more is known about the lives of those men who were the most influential in shaping the course of events in the history of the world. Literature, politics, learning, and, to some extent, the government had been

[1] Buckle: "Civilization in England," Vol. I. pp. 250-1.

this time taken out of the hands of ecclesiastics by more rthy subjects who had emerged from the masses of the ople. It is interesting to note the condition of English iety as we enter Elizabethan riod.

The Old Sun-dial.

Even at this e, there were ds of deer roam- the forests of gland, and no at- pt had been made convert the bogs l marshes into ture lands. The ulation of the ole kingdom was ely five millions, l the people in eral lived in mud- lt huts, thatched h straw or reeds. imneys were un- mmon even in the better class of houses. The floors re covered with reeds instead of carpets, and even the t made houses lacked all of the comforts of our own es. The poor had no physicians, and the physicians of rich tried to cure rather by the practice of magic than science. Manufacturing was carried on by the peasant his wife in their solitary hut, for none of the large ls, which have made England the foremost manufactur- country of the world, had been erected.[1]

[1] Vide Vol. III. pp. 698-9.

During Elizabeth's reign, the spirit of humanity had begun to attract attention to the sufferings of the poor. Hospitals and other retreats were erected for the accommodation of the needy. Whereas, in a previous reign, the highways and by-ways were lined with gibbets upon which criminals were hung in numbers, Elizabeth is said to have founded houses of correction for the punishment of lesser offences. In manners, even the more refined were coarse when compared with our own times. Even "Good Queen Bess" was wont to break out in torrents of fearful oaths when her counsellors gained her disfavor. So we see a condition of affairs where there was religion without piety, and social life without refinement.

Then, as to the education of the English people at this time, we often expect more than we really find. Henry VIII., in his endeavors to advance the new learning of his time, did not neglect his own children. Elizabeth is said to have read both Latin and Greek fluently. But the people who were gaining power and importance every day were not so fortunate. "Many of the rank were illiterate, the majority of the middle-class were uneducated, while the lower orders were in comparative darkness. As late as Edward VI., there were peers of Parliament unable to read. It is a question whether Shakespeare's father, an alderman of Stratford, could write his name."[1]

The language, itself, at this time, was in an unsettled state. There was no system of spelling in universal use, but every writer seems to have spelled according to his own taste. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament "did more to fashion and fix our tongue than any other

1 Welsh: "Development of English Literature and Language," Chicago, 1883, Vol. I. p. 292.

native work from Chaucer to Shakespeare."[1] The advance in commerce and manufactures, the discoveries in science, and the great interest taken in foreign languages, brought many new words into use. Then the language began definitely to form itself and prepare for the advent and use of the great writers who flourished at the close of Elizabeth's reign.

Were we to pass rapidly in review the great cluster of eminent writers who were living when Elizabeth died, or who were connected with her reign, we could but note that many of them came from the lower ranks of life, while it is gratifying to notice, also, that those who did come from the nobility were indeed noble in every sense of the word. Following closely after Sir Thomas More, comes "Arcadian Sidney," whom Elizabeth called "the jewel of her times." His short life of thirty-two years[2] was filled with events, all of which point to his worth—his younger days at Oxford, at Paris on the terrible St. Bartholomew's day, studied the sciences at Venice and the languages at other places in Italy, an ambassador to the continent for the purpose of furthering Protestantism at the age of twenty-two, knighted at twenty-nine, killed while fighting for freedom in the Netherlands—still he had the time to build for himself a monument of literary fame that will be everlasting. His writings are noted for their beauty and purity.

Hooker[3] was a still more influential writer, though he rose from humble parentage. He was one of the first to break away from the traditions of the Church and of religious teachers, and to advocate the supremacy of reason in deciding one's religious tenets. Thus his influence tended to establish a spirit of tolerance, for it admitted a

[1] Ibid. 294. [2] 1554-1586. [3] 1553-1600.

doubt into the teachings of ecclesiastics.[1] In style, Hooker was "methodical, correct, ample, massive, and grand; idiomatic without vulgarity, and learned without pedantry."[2] In his age, to be "a learned divine without fanaticism" is, indeed, a glowing tribute to his superior mind. In philosophical thought, he stands foremost among the men of his day; in daily life, a model of simplicity and patience that reminds one of Socrates, for his domestic affliction was greatly similar.

But this seems to have been a season when there were great minds, capable of excelling in a variety of ways. We have already had occasion to refer to that elegant courtier, Sir Walter Raleigh,[3] and he now appears again, in the field of literature. Although once he had lived under the smile of his Queen, a single misstep had gained her ill-will and sent the quondam favorite to the Tower. Released, however, he was confined again by her successor, James I., and after twelve years' confinement, was executed on the charge of treason. While passing the weary years of prison life, Raleigh busied himself in writing a "History of the World," which is not without merit as a literary work. It further has the name of being among the first attempts at the writing of a comprehensive history, free from much fiction and exaggeration that characterized the history of the day.

The poet Spencer seems to have received few favors from his queen. He was poor, and was obliged to accept a private secretaryship to Ireland, where he dwelt in solitude in a lonely castle. At last, he became poet laureate to the Queen, but he died in obscure lodgings, though his body found a resting place by the side of Chaucer's in Westminster Abbey. Spencer filled English poetry with

[1] Buckle, Vol. I. p. p. 248-9 [2] Welsh, Op. cit, p. 348. [3] 1552-1618.

harmony and imagination. A great school of followers claim him as their teacher and model. Francis Bacon[1] is contemporary with all these writers of note. He had just begun to write when Elizabeth closed her long reign. His "Essays" are masterpieces of prose writing. Baconian philosophy, with its determination to subordinate ancient principles to modern experience, was the heaviest blow which had at that time "been inflicted on the theologians, whose method is to begin, not with experience, but with principles, which are said to be inscrutable, and which we are bound to believe without further difficulty."[2] Such was the influence of Bacon in favor of advanced ideas.[3]

We must next mention the greatest literary character that any nation has ever produced. Those who revere the ancients and worship any one who chanced to write well in a language that is now dead as well as those who believe that the more modern the literature the better it must be, are alike obliged to pay reverence to the name and works of William Shakespeare,[4] the poet of Stratford on the Avon. Shakespeare's father was at one time a prosperous tradesman,[5] but upon meeting with reverses, the son was set adrift upon the world. He found his way to London where he became attached to the theatres, serving in almost all positions until he became shareholder and manager in the Black Friars and Globe theatres.

Shakespeare owed not a little of his early success to his ability to revise dramas. This certainly is the key to his entire success for he is not, in one sense, an original writer. His was a mind of varied genius. It drew its information from every source. Old dramas are revivified

[1] 1561-1626. [2] Buckle, Vol. II. p. 324.
[3] Cf. Hallam: "Literature of Europe," Pt. III. p. 59.
[4] 1564-1616. [5] Welsh, Op. cit. p. 373. *et seq.*

by his pen; history is dramatized and made life-like; fiction is remodeled and filled with living characters; crude and uninteresting matter is transformed into the rarest specimens of literature. Such is the poets art, and in such Shakespeare excelled. His characters are as real as life; and when we remember that he painted scenes from every walk of life, we can understand how varied and thorough must have been his knowledge. "He scatters metaphors profusely over all he writes; every instant abstract ideas

William Shakespeare.

are changed into images; it is a series of paintings which is unfolded in his mind. He does not seek them, they come of themselves; they crowd within him, covering his arguments; they dim with their brightness the pure light of logic. He does not labor to explain or prove; picture on picture, image on image, he is for ever copying the strange and splendid visions which are engendered one after another, and are heaped upon him".[1]

[1] Taine: "English Literature," Van Laun Ed., New York, 1875. Vol. I. p. 353.

"Rare Ben Johnson",[1] lived to write for nearly a quarter of a century after the time of Shakespeare. What a difference in the characters. The former was supposed to have been bred to the profession of a bricklayer, but became a soldier in Flanders, "an actor, a duellist, a convert to Romanism, a revert to the Anglican Church, a married man, a dramatist".[2] Physically his appearance was repelling; but "he wrote delicate, voluptuous, charming love poems".[3] Even in his age, he was noted for his vast store of knowledge; he delved into the classics and sought from original sources the minutest details of learning; but for all this, his writings were not cumbersome. With this store of knowledge, however, he did not hesitate to criticise right and left, caring neither for enmity, nor for friendship, for rank nor ability. He struggled for the bare necessities of life, and died in poverty and loneliness.

We have thus passed in review the rarest constellation of literary men that has at any one time lived in any land. They found a language that was barely suited for a vehicle of thought; they made of it a language noted for its clearness, flexibility, and beauty. They found society in a miserable condition, they helped elevate it. They found the people oppressed and ignorant, they helped educate all mankind; as many of them were themselves of lowly origin, they proved that the people could raise themselves to the highest social plain. They found the people subject to ecclesiastical authority, they freed them from their bonds of servitude by teaching that reason and not tradition or superstition should be the guide of men.

The fruit of this season of instruction is undoubtedly seen in the toleration which King James manifested in

[1] 1574-1640

[2] Vide Saintsbury: "A History of Elizabethan Literature." London, 1887, p 175. [3] Taine, Op: cit. p. 306 and 335.

several instances in the administration of his governme
notably in refusing to persecute the Catholics in gene
for the guilt of a few concerned in the Gunpowder Pl
and in his proclamation of toleration which his own bisho

Dr. Johnson

refused to read. But James had recently come from Sco
land where the rankest intolerance was in practice. Joh
Knox[2] had lived there and had established the stricte
form of Calvinism, so that here the reformers became th
most heartless persecutors of those who would not worsh
according to their dictation.

[1] Above p. 88. [2] 1505-1577.

Though the followers of Knox were themselves dissenters from the Catholic church, they were taught to have little tolerance for the beliefs of others. A history of the persecutions thus engendered would fill a volume, and would be out of place here. Strong convictions always lead to extremes. Hence it is not strange that the Scotch became very superstitious and were the last to abolish persecution.[1] The people at last became the slaves of ecclesiastics. Mothers were terrified into deserting their children, and children their parents. Never had the priests of the Roman Church exercised a greater authority over the laymen than did the Scotch Kirk over the people of that country. Early in the eighteenth century, schools were established in every parish in Scotland.[2] A few generations later, there arose some strong minds that did much to liberalize the national intellect. Such were Adam Smith, Hume, etc., and they will be mentioned in due season.

During the period of English history that we have just reviewed, three great statesmen succeeded one another in ruling the French people. These were, as we have seen,[3] Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV. Now the policy of Richelieu was far in advance of his time. He was a Catholic cardinal, but he, as chief adviser of the king, banished all feelings of interest for the Church. He made political authority superior to ecclesiastical, just as he made his king superior and absolute over all his noble subjects. His church, of course, expected favors, but found

[1] The last witch was burned in Scotland 1727, although as late as 1773, "the divines of the associated Presbytery passed a resolution declaring their belief in witchcraft, and deploring the skepticism that was general." Lecky: "Rationalism in Europe," Vol. I. p. 151. Cf. Buckle Vol. III. p. 176. *et seq.*

[2] Hittell: "History of Culture," New York, 1875, p. 291.

[3] Above p. 94.

that the laws governing and taxing its property, were as rigidly enforced as those governing other sects. His edicts of toleration granted freedom of religious opinion to Huguenots as well as Catholics; but when Huguenots became themselves rebels and persecutors (for they rebelled against the king and persecuted the Catholics who happened to reside in their towns) the armies of Richelieu were speedily dispatched to quell the rebellion and to enforce the law.

Then, too, we have noted with no little wonder the wise policy of the great statesman during the "Thirty Years' War. As it was a religious war in which the Catholics were striving to strangle the rising germs of Protestantism, they naturally expected assistance from the French. But such assistance was not granted them. The Emperors were Hapsburgs and hereditary enemies of the Bourbon kings of France. When, therefore, Richelieu saw them gaining in power and meeting with success over the armies of the German princes, the influence of France was thrown upon the side of the struggling Protestants. Gustavus Adolphus entered Germany, supported by Richelieu, to whose help, no doubt, much that seems marvelous in the young Swede's success was due.

By aiding the Lutherans against the Emperor, by aiding the Calvinists against the king of Spain, by establishing the "principle, that, in matters of State, no Catholic ought to prefer a Spaniard to a French Protestant,"[1] and by a similar system of management throughout, Cardinal Richelieu stands out as one of the foremost, and most powerful champions of toleration. Then Mazarin succeeded to power. As long as he and the queen regent were left free to act for themselves, they followed, as a general

[1] Buckle, Vol. I. p. 388

ing, the policy taught them by their master, Richelieu. But there was another result of the great cardinal's policy which did not so admirably redound to the well-being of the French people. Richelieu, at the same time, placed his vice-like grip upon the throats of the nobility, and bound them down to utter subjection to the authority of the king.

We have noted the rebellion of the Frondeurs during the ministry of Mazarin, and we have seen its result. When, therefore, Louis XIV. took the reins of government, his power was as absolute as that of any Cæsar. And during his long reign, he guarded that power with a jealous eye. He throttled every indication of freedom. Those writers who had the misfortune to live during his reign must needs write for the king's own pleasure or glory. Any one who dared to criticise the government, or to write for any other purpose than to praise his country and his wise king, was condemned to obscurity if not to punishment. The literature of Louis XIV.'s time is almost a blank. Great men lived before his time and flourished in every field of culture. But "more than a quarter of a century before the death of Louis XIV., most of these eminent men had ceased to live."[1]

But "truth crushed to earth will rise again." The seeds of freedom that were planted during Richelieu's wise reign were neither killed nor smothered. They were simply lying in dry and unfertile soil. Louis XIV. had scarcely been laid in his grave before there arose a gener-

[1] Buckle, Vol. I. p. 512. At the death of Louis in France, "there was nothing but confusion, abroad there was nothing but disaster. The spirit of France succumbed, and was laid prostrate. The men of letters pensioned and decorated by the court, had degenerated into a fawning and hypocritical race, who, to meet the wishes of their masters, opposed improvement and exerted themselves in support of every abuse."—Ibid. p. 575.

ation of writers who neither reverenced God nor feare kings, but who preached freedom and tolerance to a mankind. Before, however, reviewing the work that the accomplished, we must turn to England and note th changes that were there transpiring. We have alread seen the way in which the current of events was tendin as expressed by the literature of the time of Elizabet and James I. Now, since very early times, the spirit political freedom, also, had been aggressive in Englan We saw it manifesting itself again and again in the middl ages, more strongly than usual in the time of King Joh when the barons extorted the Magna Charta from the unwilling king.

This same spirit of freedom had grown apace ar spread abroad throughout the kingdom. It was embodie in the House of Commons, which could usually boast one or more members who guarded carefully the rights the people. The power of the commons grew from reig to reign. This body freely discussed current events. came to control the revenue of the kingdom and of th sovereign. It thus acted as a check upon the actions the king or queen. Now Henry VIII. raised himself such a degree of power that the Commons obeyed his di tation. Elizabeth ruled by making concession after co cession, and thus gaining popularity. James I., the fir of the Stuarts, pursued another policy. He believed the "divine rights of kings," and used every means in h power, and planned every way possible to make his pow absolute. Charles I. carried this policy still further. H did not wish to countenance the assumed rights of th Commons to interfere with his government; he did n relish the manner Parliament had of discussing so freel the actions of the king and the measures of the goverr

ment; he tried, for a number of years, to rule without the aid of Parliament. He imprisoned the bolder and more independent ones. We have seen the success of his policy—how his attempt to raise "ship-money" aroused such patriots as Hampden to open resistance to the king, and we have seen how the second Parliament that Charles summoned after the long vacation overturned the monarchy, beheaded the king, and established the Protectorate. The House of Peers was abolished, and the Commons, with a commoner as chief magistrate, ruled the kingdom. If we analyze the party that thus came into power, we will find that it was composed of the leading dissenters from both Church and royal authority, and that means that the spirit of freedom and tolerance had conquered the kingdom. But the ambitious leader, Cromwell, usurped the authority of a king. His son was as incapable of ruling as the son of the ordinary king. The people considered that they were just as badly off as they were under the old Stuart dynasty. Charles II. was called to the throne.

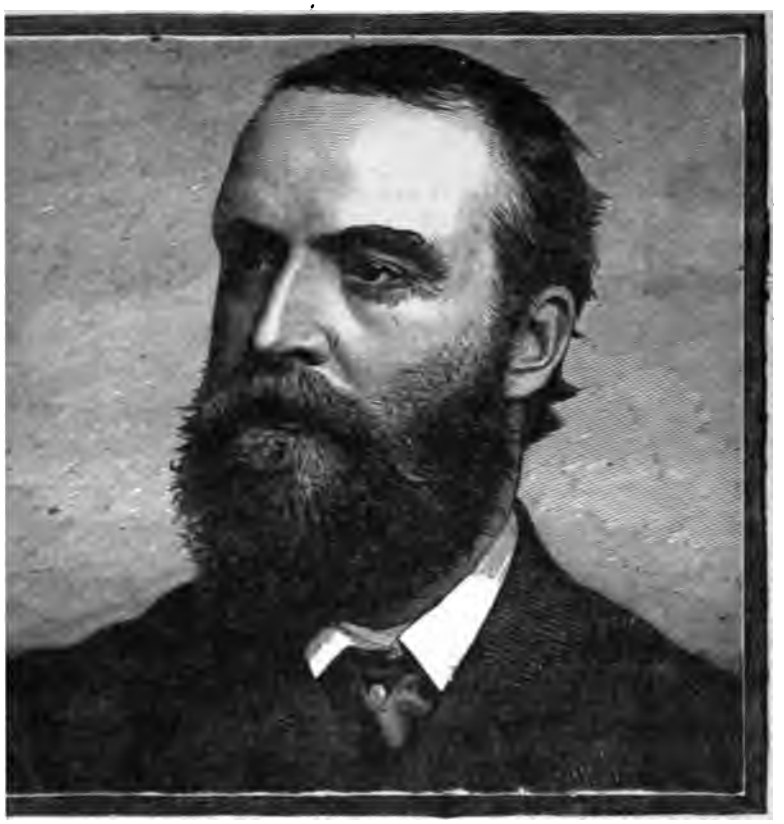
A re-action now set in. The people had rendered themselves powerless to check the ambition and passions of their king. They had, of their own free will, called the king to rule over them. They must, of course, support him. The old forms of tyranny were introduced. Then the king and his court gave themselves up to every license. The court, the government, the theatre, the literature, and every field of culture or of life were befouled with licentiousness and obscenities, that render the writings of that period unfit for the pages of a modern book. Thus it was during the reigns of Charles II. and his brother, James II. When William and Mary, at the call of the people of England, ascended the throne, the reform party again were enabled to arise and advance.

It will be remembered that the Whig or progressive party came into power with the government of Walpole at the accession of William and Mary. Walpole was made premier. His was a peace policy, and he was the author of some of the great reform measures that gave the people greater liberties and better protection. This was pre-eminently so during the reigns of the Georges, when the kings became accustomed to let Parliament and the ministry rule the country. The great work of the Whig party in England, was to establish under the monarchy the very principles for which the people had fought under Cromwell. The Commons were now the supreme power in the state. The principles of the Whigs were further freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, and free government. During their long reign, these became so fully established that "Englishmen had forgotten that it was possible to persecute for difference of opinion, or to put down liberty of the press, or to tamper with the administration of justice, or to rule without Parliament."[1] Thenceforth the English people have continued to progress in all forms of culture. To-day, England stands as an example of the most liberal monarchy and the most enlightened people of the Old World. The treatment of Ireland is a blot on their good name in this respect. We may hope, however, to see the sense of justice finally triumph, and the cause, for which the Irish patriots have so long labored, successful in the end.

Still the period of the Protectorate and of the restored Stuarts can boast of a few writers who are ranked among the best that England has ever produced. And their writings show the steady progress, even in those dark days, of ideas that have produced the liberty of the Eng-

[1] Greene: "History of the English People," Vol. IV. p. 125 *et seq.*

ı people of to-day. The first two great works of s period appeared so shortly after the Restoration that y may with justice be called the fruit of the Protector- . In fact, the authors of both were identified with the ıse of the people in beheading Charles I. The year owing the accession of Charles II., the great master-



Charles Parnell.

ıe of English poetry, "Paradise Lost," appeared. Its hor, John Milton,[1] was born in London, and had all the ·antages of education and travel. He identified him- : with the party that dethroned the Stuart kings, and ın the Restoration was in danger of being proscribed.

1 1608–1674.

At that time, he was blind, and his pitiful condition may have engendered some sympathy. His books, however, were burned by the hangman, and he was imprisoned for a short time.

As a contemporary of Milton, there had arisen a poor tinker, who joined the Parliamentary army. His only education had been confined to the reading of one or two deeply religious books, written for the dissenters from the established Church. He, however, became a preacher of some power. When Charles II. came to the throne, he, too, was imprisoned for his religious views, and there he remained for a number of years. This was John Bunyan. While in his prison cell, he wrote his great allegory, "Pilgrim's Progress," which ranks to-day next to the Bible itself, as a masterpiece of pure English, and a model of Christian literature. These two works but voiced the religious sentiments of those days when the very air itself was redolent with Puritan doctrines.

To the reign of Charles II. belong also the eloquent divine, Jeremy Taylor,[1] and the great philosopher, Hobbes.[2] The former is seldom surpassed in the beauty of his style and language. He placed himself so conspicuously at the head of the independent thinkers of his day, that he even then gained the name of being an atheist. John Locke[3] wrote in this period, and created, as much as any one man can, modern ideas on "civil rule, value of money, and liberty of the press."[4] Another generation of writers appears, whom, though gifted and brilliant, though adding much to the literature of the times, our space will not permit us to review. It may only be regretted that some of them spent a portion of their valuable time, and wasted

[1] 1613-1667. [2] 1588-1679. [3] 1632-1704.
[4] Welsh: Development of English Literature," Vol. II. p. 40.

ıeir talents in pandering to the licentious tastes of their ›vereign, Charles II. Of this group of writers, we will ıention only a few of the better class. Such were Dry-en,[1] DeFoe,[2] Swift,[3] Addison,[4] Steele,[5] and Pope.[6]

Carlyle.

Then we pass on to still another generation, whose

[1] 1631-1700. [2] 1661-1731. [3] 1667-1745. [4] 1672-1719. [5] 1671-1729.
[6] 1688-1644.—The English people as a whole were not in an envi-

literary works live as monuments of those times. The Scotch soil, though seemingly so unfertile for the growth of independent thought, produced two of the great minds of the eighteenth century. These were David Hume[1] and Adam Smith.[2] Hume leads the world as a philosophical historian. To him, history is more than a series of events or dry annals, or tales of wars and bloodshed, though he did not seem to have a comprehensive view of the period he describes.[3] His style is spoken of as "beautiful and chiseled . . . polished as marble, but cold as marble, too." In his philosophical writings, Hume seems to have been in advance of his age. Though some of his statements were colored by the peculiar social condition of the Scotch people of his time—very superstitious, and in a most servile state to the Scotch Kirk, the most intolerant of all masters, believing in witchcraft, etc.,—he advanced ideas as to the natural history of religion that are now gaining in credence. He appears also as the advocate of free-trade as theoretically the wisest commercial policy. A century later, English statesmen made it the policy of the English government, and are still firm advocates of its wisdom.

Adam Smith produced two books that have a world-wide reputation. These were his "Theory of Moral Sentiments," and "Wealth of Nations. We have not the space to enter into an analysis of these works. Their names indicate their nature and show the boldness with which laymen could at that time discuss subjects that were wont to be proscribed. Of these two men, Hume was

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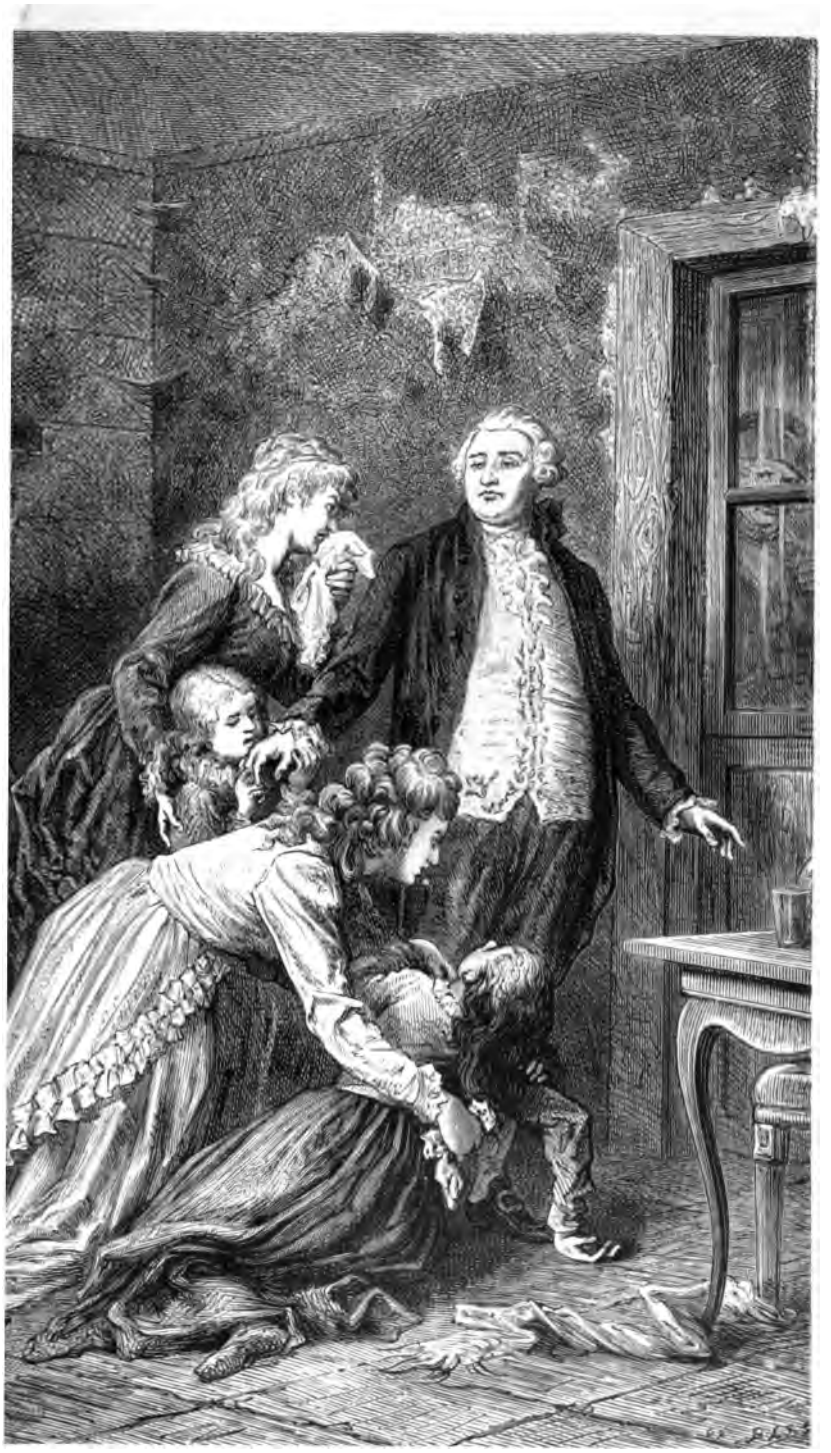
able social condition during the reign of Charles II. It takes one hundred and twenty-five pages of Macaulay's "History," (Vol. I. ch. ii.) to do justice to the subject.

[1] 1711-1776. [2] 1723-1790.

[3] "His imagination was not strong enough to picture the whole of that great century" (the seventeenth).—Buckle, Vol. II. p. 361.



F. LIX.

XVI. Bids Adieu to his Family on the Point of Departing to the Place de la Concord to be Guillotined.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

more accomplished reasoner as well as profound and
less thinker, while Smith excelled in comprehensive-
and imagination.[1] Gibbon[2] belonged to this same
eration. His history of the Roman Empire is still as
able an authority as the English language can boast.
s we see that the authors of a century ago who

T B Macaulay.

e in English had attained a degree of perfection and
e that renders them not at all antiquated in our own

Thus far we have seen that freedom of speech, free-
of conscience, and political freedom have followed the

[1] Buckle, Vol. II. p. 360. [2] 1737-1794.

development of literature, and have advanced as the great writers have led the way.

As we shall not again refer to English literature, it may be well, here, to notice a new departure in letters that has gained in importance during modern times. The modern novel, as a separate branch of literature, had its origin in the writings of Sir Walter Scott, and has developed into such an important department, that the markets have been glutted with fiction, ranking in character from the merest trash to masterpieces of literary art. All this has had a wonderful effect upon society—polishing the rude, educating the ignorant, elevating its tone even more than the drama when the theatre was at its height of popularity. Among very recent writers, the probabilities are, that such men as Dickens, Thackeray, etc., will live and influence multitudes, while Hume, Adam Smith, and others can only now and then gain the attention of a solitary student.

If we turn again to France, we will perceive that the history of that kingdom confirms this same principle of growth. We have seen how the literary spirit died out when Louis XIV. wrested from it that freedom which a writer must have in order to produce a work of merit. But when that monarch died, the hand of the despot was removed, and the drooping spirit of freedom of speech raised its head again, and sought to overstep the bounds of reason itself. Now, the schooling of the French people had been such as to deaden the religious sentiment entirely. The kings had been Catholic. Henry IV. was Protestant at heart, but turned Catholic in order to gain his crown. Then he gave his Protestant subjects the protection of the law. There followed, at a later date, the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, in which Protestants

murdered by thousands. Then the Catholic kings reled, even to blows, with the popes, over the right of atter to appoint the former. Richelieu followed with olicy of making his church subordinate to the State. this removed from around religion its halo of sacred- , and created among the French people a sentiment rse to any sort of religious belief.

Charles Dickens.

So, in regard to political freedom. France had grown rom a number of petty states. From the earliest s, internal warfare was common. The rights of princes ıle absolutely were not as much respected as they

were in some countries. The Frankish and Norman spirit of freedom continued to live, and manifested itself in such popular uprising as the Jacquerie and the Fronde. But nothing of the kind had been attempted under Louis XIV. His power was too firmly established, and he kept the energy of his people exhausted with his foreign wars. As soon, however, as Louis died, the spirit of freedom showed itself possessed of more strength than ever.

In the last years of Louis' reign, there had arisen a few young spirits who were not satisfied with the advantages offered them by their government for gaining an education and for teaching and writing in their own country. They turned their eyes across the channel where there was freedom for all men. Finally, there was a rush toward England. English ideas were eagerly adopted, and English freedom was craved. In this way, was produced a class of French scholars, who were extremely uneasy under the restraints imposed upon everything that savored of innovation. Among these, were Montesquieu,[1] Voltaire,[2] Rousseau,[3] and Diderot,[4] who exerted a great influence upon the history of France. Montesquieu, rather than David Hume, may be ranked as the pioneer in treating history as a philosophical or scientific department of literature. The remaining three writers are definitely connected with that train of events that, finally, culminated in the French Revolution.

It is interesting to notice in particular the condition of society in France about the time of the death of Louis XIV. "If ever there existed a state of society, likely by its crying and accumulated evils, to madden men to desperation, France was in that state. The people, despised and enslaved, were sunk in abject poverty, and were

[1] 1689-1755. [2] 1694-1788. [3] 1712-1778. [4] 1713-1784.

curbed by laws of stringent cruelty, enforced with merciless barbarism. A supreme and irresponsible control was exercised over the whole country by the clergy, the nobles, and the Crown. The intellect of France was placed under the ban of a ruthless proscription, its literature prohibited and burned, its authors plundered and imprisoned."[1] Rank was almost as rigidly outlined as caste in India. No matter how degraded one's rank might be, there were others who were conceived as still lower, and social barriers were erected and jealously guarded, distinction in dress and manner of living marking one's rank.

Out of such a state of society sprang that class of writers represented by Voltaire and his contemporaries. As showing the perils of literature, we might remark that offending authors were openly beaten on the streets by the servants of nobles who had felt the sting of some criticism (Voltaire was twice thus beaten), but there was no redress. As a consequence, authors as bold as Voltaire were obliged to spend much of their time abroad. This persecution of authors in France grew in severity even to the very decade when the revolutionary spirit broke forth in earnest. Books discussing questions of government were proscribed;[2] it was made a capital offence to write books likely to excite the public mind;[3] death was the penalty for attacking religion, or for speaking of matters of finance;[4] and, nine years before the Revolution, measures were in progress to abolish all publishers, and to allow books to be published only by a press controlled and paid by the government.

In France at this time, "there was neither free press, nor free Parliament, nor free debates. There were no

[1] Buckle, Vol. I. p. 540, also 663.
[2] 1764. [3] 1767. [4] Buckle, 540.

public meetings; there was no popular suffrage; there w
no discussion on the hustings; there was no habeas corp
act; there was no trial by jury. The voice of liberty, th
silenced in every department of the State, could only
heard in the appeals of those great men who, by their writin

Rosa Bonheur.

inspirited the people to resistance."[1] It was no more p
sible to keep inflammatory literature out of France than it
out of Russia to-day. The writings of these authors, print
in other countries, found their way to every fireside, a

[1] Ibid. 541.

added fuel to the smouldering spirit of revolution. Is it at all strange that those writers advocated radical changes in every department of life? In the then existing conditions of the French people, where there was neither protection from the government nor confidence in religion, is it strange that atheism became the most popular cult? These authors are charged with being the instigators of the crimes of the Revolution. When, however, there can be found nothing good in the existing government, society, or religion, whence shall men look for relief, except in change?

Thirty years before the French Revolution, vestiges of a great social change were plainly visible. The physical sciences of which we shall speak in detail later, had made great headway in France. People from all ranks of social life began to meet together to listen to lectures on scientific subjects. Ladies neglected society in order to listen to popular lecturers. Soon rank came to be no barrier to social equality in the lecture room. Society became re-organized, with education as a mark of aristocracy. Peculiarity, richness, and frivolity in dress no longer marked the citizen's rank. The dress was as simple and as plain as it could be made. Even those who were entitled to wear stars and orders of nobility discarded them or wore them concealed under their coats. This passion for simplicity was carried to such an extent that a common frock-coat for men, and an ordinary morning gown for women of all ranks was considered a suitable dress for the ball-room, dinner, or supper. Thus it will be perceived, that the French were only one step removed from the "equality" of the Revolution.

A result, probably the most important, of the rage for attendance upon lectures was the organization of various

clubs for the study and discussion of questions
portance. In the electing of members to these clu
prevailing disregard for rank was carried into pr
As was but natural, in a club composed of member
ranks and social conditions, who were bound to
by ties of educational equality, the prevailing ab

David Livingstone.

both government and religion were topics freely dis
This explains the origin of the famous Jacobin Club,
leader, Robespierre, was the controlling spirit of th
olutionists during the bloodiest days of their power.
government, at last, alarmed at the boldness of

ıbs, took measures to suppress them altogether, but suc-
eded only in shortening the days of the monarchy.

Thus we perceive the chain of events that produced
ch a condition of society as rendered the French Rev-
ution possible. A people oppressed and burdened by an
solute government, were maddened to rebellion; a
ople despised by a nobility, after tasting the equality of
lucation, were wild in their demands for literal equality
every way; a people whose religion had become corrupt,
iling to feed the spiritual nature of man, odious through
s lack of every quality that renders religion sacred, cast
ıe god of that religion beneath their feet, and enthroned
eason as the only god who had accomplished great works
i their behalf. The Revolutionists of France were by
) means the scum or off-scourings of the large cities, but
ıey included educated men and women, prosperous mer-
ıants, and, in fact, every man who was not a noble, a priest,
prince, or dependent upon one of these classes.

The blood-curdling scenes of the Revolution, the use-
ıs and cruel executions, the months of terror, the rend-
g of the social fabric throughout—all have been sufficiently
uched upon in a previous chapter. The example set by the
merican colonists, in rebelling against Great Britain, is
id to have been a great stimulus to the French people to
bel against kingly authority. But it is the nature of the
rench people to go to extremes. They demanded that
ıe entire social fabric should be torn into shreds and re-
ıodeled. The Revolutionists tore it to pieces, Napoleon
ıd his army remodeled it. But note the change that has
ıken place. In the empire established by Napoleon, the
eople were, at least theoretically, the rulers. It was to
ıe popular vote that Napoleon subjected his constitution.
t was by a popular vote that Napoleon was made Em-

peror. The people had then a degree of freedom of speech and of conscience, and a political freedom never before known in France.

Thus the cherished wishes of Voltaire and other Frenchmen of letters became almost fully realized. But the rulers of Europe, afraid (probably justly) of the ambitious designs of Napoleon, did not rest until they exiled him to lonely St. Helena. But the spirit of freedom still lived, and when royalty again endeavored to reclaim its old authority and prerogatives, another revolution (1848) occurred, another republic was organized, and, though still later, another empire appeared on the scene, it was only to give place, within a score of years, to the present republic. This government, now, seems to be increasing in stability and power. The dangers in its way have been sufficiently outlined.[1]

In tracing thus the development of modern ideas of individual liberty and freedom of speech, conscience, and government, we have confined our study to England and France, for the following reasons: Russia has not yet attained a degree of civilization that will permit us to point to her as a model of modern culture in any particular branch. Her government is still absolute, her people ignorant and almost barbarous, at least in sections. Although serfdom was abolished by Alexander II., although the nations of Europe, fearing the brute force of Russia, are forced to respect her, yet the subjects of the Czar are ground down under a tyranny as bitter as slavery. And it is, perhaps, not strange that Russia, to-day, is a sleeping volcano, and no one knows when an outbreak will occur, but when it comes, wide-spread destruction will be its accompaniment.

1 Above, p. 310.

Italy has, only within a score of years, become ıited under one ruler, and the people are given the ·ial and political freedom of other limited monarchies.[1] ain has been strangely callous to the civilizing influencs modern thought and freedom. Having lost forever the litical ascendency over other European nations that she joyed under Philip II., she has never since risen to a ·el in culture with her neighbors. She seems, to-day, be in a pitiable condition, without the germs of ambi- n necessary to growth. Old and antiquated customs are ll clung to. Old systems of agriculture, mining, etc., · still in vogue. Therefore we need not concern our- ves with its civilization. Neither need we enlarge on · culture of Scandinavia, for that country now holds ubordinate place in Europe. Holland has ever since joyed the freedom that William the Silent won for her.

We are concerned more particularly with the progress culture in Germany, whose universities are so much ıght in our own day, and whose authors are masters in ·p and philosophical thought, and in original research. · left the German people, at the close of the Thirty ars' War, in a deplorable social condition. It is hard realize the exhaustion of the country. For thirty years · German states had been a battle-field, and thus the ıntry had become utterly exhausted. The population s reduced to a very small number compared with previous ırs. Nine hundred thousand men had fallen in Saxony ne. In order to build up a population after the war, the rgy, in some sections, not only permitted, but even urged necessity of the laymen marrying two or more wives.[2]

[1] At the moment of present writing (1888), the franchise has just been ·nded to two million more inhabitants of Italy.

[2] Baring-Gould: "Germany, Present and Past," London, 1879, Vol. . 250. Burger, a Gottingen professor, did not hesitate to appear in

It must be remembered, that thirty years represent a generation. The rising generation knew only of the barbarous customs of war. They knew nothing of social life, with its civilizing tendencies. Homes had been destroyed; trades and professions were forgotten; manufacturing had ceased. "The peasants' dwellings differed little from those of their animals."[1] Fields that, under careful cultivation, were wont to yield bountiful crops, were now but desolate scenes, presenting the aspects of uninhabited districts. Scholars no longer flocked to the great universities. "Medieval culture had been killed in the course of development. . . Poetry, literature, painting were extinguished. Religion also had expired."[2] There was stagnation in social life and every branch of industry. From almost entirely new foundations, Germany has erected her modern social structure.[3]

The Thirty Years' War had not only ruined the "landed gentry," but had almost destroyed them. There was now no connecting link between prince and peasant, for the citizen "had nothing in common with the peasant, and was brought into no contact with the prince."[4] Germany was full of petty princes, who numbered, during the eighteenth century, between two and three hundred. These princes grew in absolute power, and finally became regular tyrants. In her state of exhaustion, after the Thirty Years' War, Germany was unable to take much

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public with two sisters as his two wives. Ibid. Vol. I. p. 212.

[1] Hillebrand: "History of German Thought," London, 1880, p. 43.

[2] Baring-Gould, Op. cit. p. 291.

[3] "Germany was thrown back two hundred years (by the Thirty Years' War), as compared with Holland, England, and France."—Hillebrand, Op. cit. p. 42. This gives us an idea of the terrific struggle attending the birth of the idea of toleration in religion.

[4] Baring-Gould, Op. cit. p. 293.

rt in the wars of Louis XIV. But during this long riod, she was slowly recruiting her strength.

Thus time passed in Germany until we come to the ıe of Frederick the Great, who inherited the accumulated alth, the well-equipped army, and the strong govern- ınt of his barely less renowned ancestor, Frederick illiam. In the Seven Years's War, he brought the ussian kingdom into European prominence. This was ore than a century after the close of the Thirty Years' 'ar. When we gain a true idea of the condition into hich German society had drifted, we readily understand ow such harsh masters as the Prussian kings could arise ıd the important work they accomplished. They ıecked the abuses with which Germany was then cursed. he petty princes had grown stronger and stronger in solutism. They were grinding their subjects down by tation, and were squandering the wealth of their over- rdened states upon expensive courts, and licentious art life. Frederick II. noticed this even as late as his y, and said, "There is not a younger son of a side line, ıo does not imagine himself to be something like Louis IV. He builds his Versailles, has his mistresses, and aintains his armies."[1]

Such habits and desires spread to all departments of e. Subjects imitated their masters. The marriage tie came a very loose bond of union. Every one who could ord to kept his one or more mistresses in imitation of s prince. Virtue among women is said to have been the re exception. Then many of these states tore themselves ose from the weakened empire. The clergy had become ols of the petty princes. The rigorous rule of the ussian kings was necessary to reform this condition of

[1] Hillebrand: "German Thought," p. 46.

society. Frederick William and Frederick the Great introduced discipline into their army, frugality in their court and government, and general reform in social life. Only by such management could the German people be brought back to their old condition of life.

Then, too, the successes of Frederick the Great in his wars, inspired the German people again with their old-time vigor and courage. The French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon killed feudalism in Germany,[1] for at this time the number of German states was reduced to about forty. In 1806, the German Empire, the descendant of the Roman Empire, was formally dissolved, Emperor Francis II. becoming simply Emperor of Austria. Thirty-nine of the Old German states were formed into a confederacy, but the union was unsatisfactory to both rulers and the governed. The people were now clamoring for a share in the governments of their respective states. The sovereigns of Prussia and Austria were obliged to yield and grant constitutional governments to their subjects. This contest continued for many years. At last, and in our own day, as one of the results of the Franco-Prussian War, the new German Empire, with its liberal form of government, was established by the voluntary union of nearly all Germany under the leadership of Prussia, with free government, free speech, and toleration.

But the freedom of the German people is by no means the freedom of the citizens of such a republic as ours, or such a monarchy as England. On the other hand the liberty of the German people would seem to us little short of intolerance. The government of Germany is a military government, and the nation has been compared to

[1] Sells: "Outlines of the Literature of Germany," London, 1880, p. 161.

e vast camp. Every stage and department of life is con-
olled by the state. Thus, in the education of the youth,
e state examiners appoint and pay the teachers. The
ate also determines the courses that shall be studied,
d the books used; it determines how long a child shall
to school; and, when he has reached the right age, the
ate forces him to a certain number of months service in
e army. The education of the German youth is gen-
al and compulsory. Thus far the system is beneficial.
at a teacher, or preacher, or any professional, is obliged
prepare for his work according to a rigorous state
ogram.

In religion, the antiquated ideas of the time of
harles V. still cling to the system by which the govern-
ent controls the beliefs of its subjects. That is to say,
the main, the religion of a community is the same as
at of the ruler. The people are little consulted on the
bject of belief. The rulers for the time being have de-
rmined their religion. "As the rulers have changed
heir shibboleths, so have the people been required to screw
heir mouths." Protestant and Catholic communities stand
ide by side, but there is no mingling; "a conversion from
ne to another is almost unknown." In fact, the state does
ot countenance a change of religion.[1] Then, too, "the theo-
gical teachers are appointed, not by the church, but by the
ate, and may represent the culture-minister rather than
e faith of the church whose pastors they prepare."[2] In

[1] "If a Protestant officer, say a lieutenant, should enter a Catholic
urch during service, and his superior officer were to hear of it, he would
reprimanded; and if he repeated the offence, punished; and so, if a
vate or officer, who is registered in the roll as a Catholic, attends
otestant worship, he subjects himself to reprimand and punishment.
Baring-Gould, Op. cit. p. 122, note, also Chapter xiii.

[2] Vide Article in "Andover Review" Oct. 1885, p. 336.

Prussia, the ruling state of Germany, we are told that "absolute religious liberty is guaranteed by the constitution".[1] But the Protestant Church is governed by "consistines," or boards appointed by the government, one for every province. So, too, among the Catholics, the Crown controls the election of bishops and prelates in all the provinces, except the Rhenish province.[2] All other religious bodies are in a great minority in Germany, as the German Protestant Church is composed of a union of Lutherans and Reformed, under the name of the Evangelical Church.

Again, German liberty and toleration does not recognize the individual and individual rights, as those inestimable liberties are recognized by the most advanced nations. Says Baring-Gould, "As every male infant is an embryo soldier, and every female babe a prospective mother of soldiers, they must be registered by state functionaries, educated by state functionaries, married by state functionaries, and shovelled out of the world by state functionaries. No man is a free agent, for every man is a soldier. He must be drilled by state corporals on week days, and preached to by state chaplains on Sundays. The State takes charge of his digestion and conscience." Such is the freedom of the German people to-day, and no one can claim that it is equal to the freedom of the English-speaking branch of Teutonic people.

German literature, likewise, was almost killed by the religious war. There were no manifestations of a revival until nearly fifty years after its close. Then there arose a spirit of criticism that began to promise a renewed interest in literature. The cultivation of the national dialect had been neglected from the time of Luther. Lec-

[1] Statesmen Year Book, 1888, p. 126. [2] Op. cit. p. 127.

tures at the universities were still repeated in Latin until about the middle of the eighteenth century, when that language came to be discarded from the lectures and manuals. The national dialect thenceforth grew in popularity, although Frederick the Great harbored Voltaire and other French scholars, encouraged the use of French as a literary language, and even despised his own language as a proper medium for German men of letters. Three names of more than usual prominence are connected with this attempt to restore the national dialect. These are Lessing, Klopstock, and Wieland.[1] Lessing[2] has been called the second father of German literature, ranking next to Luther in importance. He founded the drama and introduced a freer discussion of theological questions. Klopstock[3] owes his reputation to his great poem entitled the "Messiah," as well as to his support of the popular cause during the French Revolution. Wieland[4] was a Swabian, but was educated at Tubingen and Zurich. Though he tried to attain the elegance of Voltaire's style, he was too much inclined to cater to the demands of a baron's licentious court, where he obtained encouragement and patronage.

The tenacity with which German teachers and writers clung to an antiquated and erudite style of literature, led (about 1772) to the formation of the "Gottingen Dicter-Bund," or "Poets' Club of Gottingen," which had for its purpose the regeneration of German poetry and the substitution of an easy, popular style for an old erudite one. "They proposed to abjure all Latinized or Frenchified diction, and to write in pure Teutonic."[5] Prominent among the members of this school are mentioned Burger, Voss,

[1] Sells: "Literature of Germany", p. 99. [2] 1729-1781. [3] 1724-1803.
[4] 1733-1813. [5] Sells: Op. cit. p. 108.

Claudius, Holty, and the two Counts Stolberg. They wished to write for the people in general, and, by introducing characters drawn from German society, succeeded in greatly popularizing literature.

While the rulers of Prussia and Austria were free enough to patronize and protect French and other foreign men of letters, they were, strange to say, ready to condemn and discourage the attempts to build up a popular national literature. Frederick the Great returned a book, written in German, to the author who had sent him a copy, with the reply that he would not tolerate it in his library, but would treat it as rubbish. But the ruling family of Saxe-Weimar treated German authors quite differently. At the court of Karl August, were gathered Wieland, Herder, Schiller, and Goethe, who ranked at the head of German authors when popular literature was at its zenith.[1]

We have mentioned the work of Wieland. Herder's[2] skill as a writer attracted attention even while in attendance at the university, but his "Cid" established his reputation as a poet. The ministry was his profession, and he became the chief clergyman at Weimar when called to the court of Duke Karl August. It is further said, "that he inspired all the writers of this period of literary history." He was, at twenty-six, "the mentor, the initiator, the guiding genius of Goethe."[3] Of Schiller[4] and Goethe[5] we can by no means speak to the extent that their fame demands. Their works are known and read by every student of the German language. Schiller's "Mary Stuart," "Maid of Orleans," and "William Tell":

1 "The year 1800 may be considered as the zenith of German Literature."—Selss, Op. cit. p. 90.

2 1744-1803. 3 Hillebrand: "German Thought," p. 118.

4 1759-1805. 5 1749-1832.

Goethe's "Faust," "Iphigenia," etc., have a world-wide reputation as masterpieces of literature. Therefore, we can rank these two great minds at the head of German poetry, when that literature was in full bloom. Their influence upon the culture of Germany was too great to be better illustrated in the space we have to devote to them.

After the French Revolution, German writers became divided into two schools—one advocated conservatism and clung to old customs, while the other was as strong a friend of progress. It seems barely credible to us that, within our own century, freedom of thought and of speech have met with bitter persecution in European countries. But such was the case even in Germany at the dawn of the nineteenth century; and, among the advocates of reform, there were "martyrs as well as champions." Of the reformers of this century, Heinrich Heine[1] was, perhaps, the most talented and reckless. Though he was a poet, ranking among the first, he did not become renowned as a writer until he connected himself with a printer, of Hamburg, who owned a secret press in the suburbs of that city. From this press were issued the most radical works on reform that could be written; and these were stealthily circulated in Prussia and Austria. The inflammable and caustic nature of Heine's writings early attracted attention. He soon thought it best to take up his residence in France, whence he continued to pour his essays into Germany. In the presidency of Thiers, he was granted a pension by republican France, but the sale of his books was prohibited in Germany.

We have not, thus far, touched upon one branch of literary culture, in which the Germans have, during the

[1] 1799-1856.

past century, gained great notoriety. We refer to their philosophy, and to the world-wide reputation that Germans have as abstract thinkers. Lecky[1] says: "It is probable that the capacity for pursuing abstract truth for its own sake, which has given German thinkers so great an ascendency in Europe, is, in no slight degree, to be attributed to the political languor of their nation." Leibnitz[2] stands out as the pioneer among modern German philosophers. But Immanuel Kant[3] was the greatest of the philosophers Germany has produced. Here, again, we must be satisfied with the bare statements, that his style "is clear and connected," and his "design was to criticise the limits of the human intellect." A review of his philosophy would occupy pages instead of the paragraph that we can give it. His greatest productions are his critiques on "Pure Reason," on "Art," on "Ethics," and his "Logic."

Fichte[4] followed Kant, and enlarged upon the views of his master, especially in the field of religion. While Fichte was found pleading for religious freedom and the right of philosophical inquiry, he taught a purer skepticism than did Kant, or rather put a broader interpretation upon the doctrines taught by his great master. Schelling[5] was a disciple of Fichte. He introduced a new philosophy; and, by trying in later life to reconcile it with Revelation, made himself the butt of the sport and ridicule of his contemporaries.[6]

Hegel[7] attained great popularity as a lecturer—divines scholars, and statesmen are said to have crowded his lecture room. His reputation as a great thinker was unrivalled by contemporaries. His mind was versatile, for

[1] "Rationalism in Europe," Vol. II. p. 133.
[2] 1646-1716. [3] 1724-1804. [4] 1762-1814. [5] 1775-1854.
[6] Selss, p. 232. [7] 1770-1831.

orks on law, theology, history, ethics, and art. s ushered in the system of fearless inquiry and ent thought that has placed German scholars at of all departments of modern learning. Above , they are noted for their boldness in presenting of advance thought, for they do not hesitate to ne scorching laws of criticism, all departments of ne of which are considered, by many a student, red to be subjected to the light of reason. In of religious thought, therefore, we find Germans des of belief, from sound orthodoxy to the rankest sm; but, in much of their literature, the reader ced of the earnestness of the writers; and the of modern times can not utterly condemn the an honest mind. Before leaving the study of iterature, we must notice the new sciences that ain the past half century, arisen among the great scholars. We refer to comparative philology ology, which, as we have seen, have told us so ut the early Aryans and their culture. We need ge upon that here further than to notice that the Jacob Grimm and F. Max Muller have been ized by their connection with these new sciences.[1] far we have confined ourselves to a study of the of European people in the great struggle of the l, no matter what the condition of his birth, for n as a unit in society. We should note that has usually paved the way for freedom of speecch, , and freedom of development of the physical he inventions and discoveries in which have raised from the lowest scale of Savagism, to our present of Civilization. The naked savage, chained

[1] raud: "German Thought," pp. 170-1.

down by the bands of ignorance, has been freed, clothed and taught to enjoy the works, and investigate the subtl laws of nature, and thus fitted to hold closer communion with his Creator, This result has been brought about, in a great measure, by his study of the physical sciences To this field of research, let us now turn our attention.

The imprisonment of Roger Bacon and his few contemporaries for their supposed heretical and magical teachings could by no means check the spirit of investigation into nature's laws that had sprung into activity through their noble examples. Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek thought had already begun to spread toward the shores of the Atlantic. But the notions which even the savants of the East had on scientific subjects now only provoke a smile from the most ignorant of our people. The astrologers still held sway in the field of astronomy, and the stars were consulted in order to determine the fortune or fate of a new-born babe.[1] Comets were looked upon as presaging all sorts of misfortune to mankind. Even the shape of the earth was a subject of doubt until Columbus proved its spheroidal form. In medicine, spells, and incantations, the bones of saints, and other relics were considered more meritorious than nature's remedies. The surgeon, in amputating a limb, could stop the bleeding only by searing the wound with a red-hot iron, or placing it in a kettle of boiling pitch. The study of chemistry, while openly condemned by ecclesiastics,[2] as savoring of witchery and demonology, was secretly encouraged in hopes that the long-sought philosopher's stone might be found, or that

[1] As illustrating the tenacity of such superstitions, we might remark that some people still think children should be weaned according to the "signs."

[2] At one time alchemy "could reckon among its adepts bishops and kings—and even a pope." Routledge: "Popular History of Science," p. 75.

the secret of turning ordinary metals into gold might be discovered.[1]

From these crude beginnings, physical science had its start. When, however, Columbus had succeeded by his discoveries in overturning some of the old theories, a spirit of doubt was sent abroad in the field of knowledge which, as in all such cases, soon gave birth to a spirit of inquiry. Nicholas Copernicus[2] was still a young man when the fame of Columbus was at its height. By close study, this son of a Polish surgeon rose to be a canon of Frauenburg. Looking from his garret window into the starry heavens, he saw more than the visions of the wild astrologer, for nature revealed to him some of her secret laws. As he watched the stars and planets in their various changes from night to night, and from year to year, he studied all the theories he could find in the writings of the day. There were no telescopes then, so he had to be guided only by the naked eye; but he continued patiently [illegible] noting his conclusions in writing [illegible]

The Hour Glass

[1] One Dr. Dee claimed to enjoy the power of [illegible] Elizabeth's time. He also was at [illegible] sent the Earl of Leicester to him to [illegible] for her coronation. Vide Murray [illegible] et seq

[2] 1473–1543.

long life's work was a book which, as soon as it was published, was placed under the ban of the Church, for it taught the old Pythagorean theory of the universe.

Medieval philosophers taught that the earth was the center of the starry system around which every heavenly body, even the sun itself, circled in its orbit. But Copernicus claimed that the sun was the center of our planetary system, and that the earth with other planets revolved around it. He is said to have died just in time to escape burning for heresy. His disciple, Bruno, a Dominican friar, was burned at the stake, in the last year of the sixteenth century, because he taught the Copernican theory. But the theory had been enunciated, the movement was started, one more step had been taken in the direction of truth.

Vase.

In order to see the bitter opposition to all forms of advanced thought in the sixteenth century, we must turn to another branch of science—that of anatomy. All that was known at this time of the structure of the human body had been learned from a study of the muscles and bones of lower animals, so that we can judge of the incapacity of physicians and surgeons of medieval times. About the middle of the century,[1] Andreas Vesalius, a Belgian, became professor of anatomy at the University of Padua. He taught that the only way to obtain a correct knowledge of human anatomy was by

[1] 1514-1564.

ting the human body. Putting this theory into prac-
e completely revolutionized the study of anatomy,
nally published a book in which he gave correct
ptions of many of the bones and organs of the body
ich little had previously been known. In this
he brought his teachings to the notice of the Inquisi-
which, upon a false charge of dissecting a man alive,
mned him to death. Charles V. interceded for his
ysician, and the sentence was changed to a pilgrimage
usalem. The vessel, however, was ship-wrecked and
ius perished. This was the year in which Shakes-
was born.

here are a few more names that stand out like the
of a forest in this early transition period between
d new thought. Such were Gesner and Cæsalpinus
e field of botany; Paracelsus and Van Helmont in
stry; Porta, in light; Gilbert, in electricity; Tycho
, in astronomy; and then we come to the name of
eat Galileo,[1] whose parents were poor and lived at
n Italy. All have heard of his discovery of the
ple of the pendulum by watching the vibrations of a
while attending service in a cathedral; and that
experiment of dropping balls of different weights
he summit of the leaning tower at Pisa, to establish
of falling bodies, is also familiar to all. Even this
al sort of study had brought him as a man to be
lly watched by the Inquisition. But the great work
ileo is in the field of astronomy, and is connected
he first part of the seventeenth century.
ven toward the close of the sixteenth century, Galileo
become professor at Padua, turned his attention to
dy of astronomy, and saw the truth of some features

[1] 1564-1642.

of the Copernican theory. He came to the belief that the planets moved around the sun. But with Galileo, nothing short of proof could be satisfactory. In 1609, however, he heard of a discovery of Jansen, in Holland, that, by a certain arrangement of lenses, distant objects could be made to appear closer at hand. In other words, the magnifying power of lenses had been discovered.

Venetian Glass.

Galileo thereupon went to work and made the first telescope to help him in his study of astronomy. This telescope magnified eight times. With this instrument, Galileo set about to prove the Copernican theory. First he viewed the moon, with its hills and valleys, and he also saw the secondary light which the earth reflects upon the darkened face of the moon. Then he turned to Jupiter, discovered the four moons, and traced them in their courses around that planet. Next, Venus was the object of his study. Night after night he watched her as she passed through all the phases which that planet displays in her journey around the sun. His telescope could not distinguish the rings of Saturn. The great astronomer, filled with the

truth of his theory, then went to Rome, in order that the pope might see these wonderful movements of the heavenly bodies. While there, by watching the changing spots upon the surface of the sun, he proved that the sun turned upon its axis every twenty-five days.

But enough had been taught by him to alarm the ever-watchful ecclesiastics, and Galileo was summoned before the Inquisition. He was commanded to be silent about his new theories. But the brave old man continued to spread his wonderful tidings far and wide, publishing a book entitled "The System of the World of Galileo Galilei." Again he was summoned before the Inquisition and dressed in sackcloth, resting his hands upon the Holy Bible, was forced to take his solemn oath, that "it was not true that the earth moved around the sun, and that he would never again in words or writing spread this damnable heresy." Although seventy years of age, history accredits him with the boldness, even in sight of the irons of torture, of reiterating the statement, "Nevertheless it does move." Thenceforth he was kept a prisoner in his own home, forbidden to leave it or see any company without the pope's consent.[1] This was a quarter of a century after Shakespeare had ceased to live.

At this time, Kepler[2] was helping Tycho Brahe, at Prague, to work out his great mathematical tables.[3] But when Brahe died, Kepler continued the work for himself, and began to apply his mathematics to the study of astronomy. He made a more powerful telescope than that of Galileo, and, by his observations and calculations, succeeded in establishing the three laws of Kepler in regard to the movements of planets.

[1] Buckley: "History of Natural Sciences," New York, 1876, pp. 87, 94.
[2] 1571-1630. [3] Rudolphine Tables.

As we have already seen, the world was beginning to be much more tolerant. The scientific world in particular was about this time greatly indebted to two philosophers for this state of affairs. These were Francis (Lord) Bacon[1] of England and Descartes[2] of France. Six years before his death, the former published his "Novum Organum" (New Method), in which he boldly advocated a new plan by which science should be studied. He insisted, that every step ought to be proved by the student, as he went along, that a question should be studied from every possible point of view, and that upon the result of such study only could a general law be founded.

Two-handed Vase.

Buckle[3] calls Descartes the "most profound among the eminent thinkers France has produced. . . He is the author of what is emphatically called modern philosophy. . . He was the reformer and liberator of European intellect." But at present, we are concerned only with his work in the physical sciences. Not only was he a great mathematician; not only did he add much to the knowledge of light—explaining the formation of an image on the retina of the eye; not only did he detect the causes of the rainbow; not only did he accept theories that are now known to be true, but then were discarded and ridiculed; but, by his fearless and unhesitating attacks upon existing errors, prejudices, superstitions, and traditions, he did more than any previous

[1] 1561-1626. [2] 1596-1650. [3] Vol. I. p. 417 *et seq.*

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: to remove obstacles from the path of progress, and it possible for scholars to advance new ideas in the ific field. A contemporary of Richelieu—the one ished the laws of toleration as the best policy in nment, the other introduced his daring "innovation ne national in-," and, we might in the scientific ct of the day as

Art and a Lump of Clay.

Descartes, also, ided experiment roof for all scien- atements. Now lain that the in- e of such writers a long way to down the old rity of the In- on, to encourage al research, and ablish accuracy eliability in the f scientists. eventeenth cen- as thus made a f great growth ery branch of edge. It seems strange to us to learn that the cir- n of the blood, from the heart to the extremities h the arteries, and back again to the heart through

ewart "has given to Descartes a very proud title, 'Father of Ex- tal Philosophy of the Human Mind,' as if he were to man what was to nature."—Hallam: "Literature in Europe," Pt. III. p. 88.

the veins, was altogether unknown in the time of Shakespeare. It was not until three years after the death of the great English poet that Harvey[1] succeeded in proving the circulation of the blood.

Previous to Harvey's time, there had been theories advanced to explain the beating of the arteries. Vesalius had believed, that the arteries carried a sort of "vital spirits" from the heart to all parts of the body, and that the blood was pumped to and from the extremities by the heart, moved by the action of breathing. A Spaniard Servetus, an Italian, Columbus, and Cæsalpinus had suggested that the blood from the heart flowed through the lungs and came back to the heart again. Cæsalpinus had noticed that if you tie a vein it will swell on the side of the bandage from the heart. So we see that scientists were gradually drawing closer and closer to the truth. Finally, Harvey, after nineteen years of study and experiment, advanced the true theory. He was at the time physician for Charles I., but so great was the prejudice against innovation that he, even, was obliged to complain that he had lost many patients on account of his new doctrine.[2] Still the connection of the arteries and the veins at their extremities by means of capillaries was not demonstrated until the microscope revealed them to the eye of man.[3]

We can not, of course, offer a detailed history of all the steps by which mankind increased their knowledge of the physical sciences. As time went by, new discoveries were made on every hand. Galileo had noticed that water would rise in a vacuum about thirty-four feet, but it was two years after his death before Torricelli proved that it was the weight of the atmosphere that made it rise at all.

[1] 1578-1657. [2] Buckley: "Op. cit. pp. 110-114. [3] About 1658.

Then it was only one step more to the invention of the barometer. Likewise, Galileo is said to have made the first thermometer—a glass tube filled with air and inverted in a vessel of water and partly filled with the liquid. He observed that by heating the bulb of the tube the air was made to force the water out of the tube.[1] Then another used the spirits of wine. At last, mercury was used; but the thermometer was of no practical use until Fahrenheit, Celsius, and Reaumur attached the scale to the tube and taught people how to measure the temperature in degrees.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the air-pump was invented by Otto Guericke, burgomaster of Magdeburg. Then by its use he proved that the pressure of the atmosphere is equally exerted in all directions. The air-pump was a necessary instrument in the future discovery of many principles of science, and admirably illustrates how knowledge in the broad field of nature could be gained only one step at a time. But, in following the chronological order of events, we must turn to another of Guericke's inventions, which has proved of more importance than the air-pump. In 1672, he made the first electrical machine by mounting a globe of sulphur in a frame so that it could be turned, and using a cloth as a rubber.

The middle of the seventeenth century witnessed a very momentous event in the scientific world, that was the foundation of the "Royal Society of London."[2] Thenceforth superstition, intolerance, bigotry, and persecution were to meet with organized opposition, and organization, we know, will conquer the world. The same year, the "Imperial Academy of the Curious in Nature" was

[1] Routledge: "Popular History of Science," London, 1881, p. 106.
[2] Chartered by Charles II. 1662.

founded in Germany; and four years later, the "Fr
Academy of Sciences," at Paris.[1] At the meetings of
societies, every new discovery and invention was discu
and commented upon. No longer was a great studer

Henry Bessemer.

nature obliged to stand alone before the Inquisition, for
had numerous powerful friends and allies whom, a
body, no government dared persecute. As a result,
strides which science made were so rapid that we

[1] Buckley, Op. cit. pp. 124-6.

only mention here and there the more important discoveries.

Mayow's[1] experiments on respiration and combustion proved that fire will use up the same element of the air that animals do in breathing, and that element is absolutely necessary to the life of both fire and animal; and so investigation was started in this direction. The telescope was, no doubt, early modified so as to magnify objects near at hand. By constant improvement, this has grown into our present powerful microscope. Malpighi,[2] however, first gave the world lessons in the science of microscopy. He astonished the world with the wonders that the microscope revealed. First he pointed out the minute tubes (capillaries) that join the arteries and the veins, then the air-cells in the lungs, next he showed the structure of the human skin, then he pointed out the breathing pores and tubes in insects.

At last, Malpighi turned to the microscopic study of plants. Nehemiah Grew[3] entered this field about the same time, and by their study the cellular structure of plants was made known. But by all means the greatest discovery of the microscope at this time was under the eye of a Dutchman, Leeuwenhoek,[4] who first saw the schools of animalculæ that sport in a drop of water, opening a new world to scientists. The closing years of the seventeenth century witnessed the first attempt at a scientific classification of plants and animals by two Englishmen, Ray and Willoughby, who worked conjointly.

But we have said nothing as yet about the greatest of scientists, Sir Isaac Newton,[5] whose work began in the latter half of the seventeenth century. His father was a farmer, and in this instance as in many others, we see

[1] 1645–1679. [2] 1628-1694.
[3] 1628-1711. [4] 1632-1723 [5] 1642-1727.

great men rising from the lower walks of life. Newton, however, had the advantage of a good education and began early in life to study the great problems of nature which, by solving, have made his life famous. His work was on three main problems--mathematics, light and color, and gravitation. He made his discoveries in these all about the same time, about the year 1666. In mathematics, he presented his "Method of Fluxions," or, what is about the same, invented Differential Calculus. But Leibnitz claims a share of the glory here for he, about the same time, invented a similar process.

The Microscope.

In his study of light, Newton explained the separation of a ray of white light into seven primary colors. He also observed the different angles of refraction. But the greatest discovery of Newton was the laws of gravitation. Seeing an apple fall from a tree, he asked himself why it should fall? The result of sixteen years' study was the discovery of that force which acts through all space and all distance upon all bodies. By this force, the pebble falls to the earth, and by virtue of the same, the planets are held in their orbits. Then he worked out the laws of the force which he called attraction of gravitation, and the scientific world was given the key with which to explain many of the phenomena of nature. Newton himself explained the tides, and since his time the astronomer has been able to not only explain irregular movements of the heavenly bodies, but to calculate their position in the heavens, and discover new planets and stars.[1]

[1] For a detailed account of the great work of Sir Isaac Newton, vide

nough discoveries had at that time been made to
Halley[1] to calculate the paths of the planets in space,
retell just when Venus and Mercury would pass be-
the earth and the sun. From the transits of these
s, have been calculated the distances of many

Sir Isaac Newton.

ıly bodies from one another. Halley also mapped
e courses of comets, and foretold when they might
ected to return. Enough had also been learned to
scientists to ascertain the velocity of light, and the
ıt undulatory theory of light was advanced before
se of this century of great men.

irs," by Sir David Brewster, London, 1855.

[1] 1656-1742.

When the eighteenth century at last opens, we perceive what a vast foundation of knowledge it had to build upon. We will not, therefore, be surprised to learn of the much vaster results of another century of scientific study. Then, too, we must realize that at present, though society may condemn a man and thus persecute him for opinion's sake, no civil or religious authority can inflict bodily torture or death for the mere utterance of one's belief, no matter how much it may differ from our preconceived ideas. Then, too, we have reached a period when the various branches of science have become separate and individual lines of research, claiming the entire time and attention of their various votaries. So, early in the century, we find Boerhaave[1] devoting his life at Leyden University to the study of medicine and organic chemistry, manufacturing vegetable drugs and oils as well as analyzing plants. Then he carried his study into animal life, and made many discoveries in the elements of animal tissue. Haller[2] was a pupil of Boerhaave. Even in those days of toleration, he was driven from Paris because he dissected human bodies. He became at last professor of anatomy, surgery, and botany at Gottingen. Here he so conducted the work of his students that he was enabled to publish one hundred and eighty volumes on science, containing much that was new in the study of his specialties.

With John Hunter[3] began the scientific study of comparative anatomy. He not only spent his whole life in this work, but a large fortune in building a museum for his collection of anatomical specimens. Even at this time Buffon[4] was preparing material for his "Natural History," which was designed to be a history of the living world. And Linnæus[5] was studying, naming, and classifying

[1] 1668-1738. [2] 1708-1777. [3] 1728-1793. [4] 1707-1788. [5] 1707-1778.

plants. Though the former was favored with rank and fortune sufficient to enable him to pursue his studies unmolested and to best advantage, the latter rose from a peasant's rank, through bitterest poverty, to the highest rank and honor as a student and a noble-minded man.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the rocks with their fossils and signs of past life began to attract the notice of students, yet geology is a comparatively new science. It was not until the last quarter of the eighteenth century that Abraham Werner[1] began to lecture at the Freyberg school for miners. He first told his students of the wonderful history that the rocks revealed to him. He pointed out the arrangement of rocks in layers, and was enabled to tell the story that the fossils imbedded therein revealed. Then he pointed out how some great force must have bent these rocks into hills and valleys, or rent them asunder, revealing other rocks that must have been formed by the action of fire. Thus, the foundation of the study of geology—the study that has revolutionized the early history of the world—was laid. Hutton and William Smith took this study up and enlarged upon the views of the founder, correcting some errors and explaining some new features. Henceforth it became an important branch of science.

One other branch of science is so closely connected with geology that we will mention it here, though it belongs to the nineteenth century; we have reference to archæology, the science of the antiquity of man. As the geologist has shown the great age of the world, so the archæologist has shown the great antiquity of man. A complete revolution has been effected in this respect.[2]

It was in this century that the old school of alchemy

[1] 1750-1817. [2] This Series, Vol. I. chs. I.—V.

and the false phlogiston theory had to give way
modern science of chemistry. Black discovered ca
acid; Cavendish, hydrogen; Priestly and Scheele, ox
Rutherford, nitrogen; and the properties of all these
were thoroughly studied and commented upon befo
great scientific societies. Chemists had now disc
the gasses which compose fire, air, and water. Th

James Watt.

voisier,[1] a Parisian, began to experiment with these el
and discovered the true nature of the change that
when a substance burns. He also investigated man
chemical changes. He then adopted new names and
and the science of chemistry was introduced to the

We must now mention the most important ev
the scientific world up to this time. We refer to

1 1743-1794.

vention by which James Watt[1] made steam of practical use as a mechanical power. We must not conclude that Watt was the inventor of the steam-engine as we now know it, for he not even deserves the honor of being the first to try to use steam as a motive power. Hero, an Alexandrian Greek, used steam to turn a globe more than a century B.C.; Porta, in the sixteenth century, DeCau, the Marquis of Worcester, a Frenchman named Papin, an Englishman named Savery, in the seventeenth century—all had tried to make steam-engines.[2]

When Watt began his work on the improvement of the steam-engine, he had a Newcomen engine, used for pumping, to start with. Watt's great improvement on this engine was in the shape of a condenser, by which both heat and steam could be economized. He began with a very crude, impractical machine, and by one invention after another, succeeded in so perfecting the steam-engine that it became a safe, satisfactory, practical agent for the use of steam as a motive power. A Birmingham manufacturer, named Boulton, now joined Watt in the manufacture of steam-engines. Of such practical use did they thenceforth become, that manufacturing in England was revolutionized.

The study of electricty had attracted no particular attention until our own countryman, Benjamin Franklin,[3] turned his attention to that branch of science. When it was known among European scholars that a resident of Colonial America had something to tell them in regard to science, there was occasion for all manner of sport over the presumption that any good thing could come out of the

[1] 1736-1819.

[2] Buckley, Op. cit. pp. 245-6; Yeats: "Technical Hist. of Commerce," p. 363.

[3] 1706-1790.

"woods of Penn". But, in the mean time, Franklin was making his silken kite and waiting for a rainy day. When it became noised abroad that he had actually drawn electricity from the clouds and thus proved that lightning and electricity were identical, the ridicule of scientists was changed to the deepest respect.

Sir Robert Peel.

Franklin made many experiments with electricity, and its study then attracted much attention in Europe. Galvani,[1] a professor at Bologna, by the merest accident, discovered animal electricity. Then Volta,[2] a professor

[1] 1737-1798. [2] 1745-1827.

t Pavia, took up the subject, and applied the knowledge hus far gained to his system of experiments. The result vas the "Voltaic pile", an invention by which enormous and constant quantities of electricity can be produced by means of the metals, copper and zinc, placed in a vessel of acidulated water.[1] It was likewise discovered that this electricity could be conducted over a continuous circuit of any length, and thus we see that the scientists of the eighteenth century were only a step or two removed from a knowledge of the electric telegraph.

In astronomy, great strides were made during the century under consideration, but it would require a technical knowledge of the science in order to understand the greater portion of the discoveries. We must, however, mention a portion of the work of three great astronomers—Lagrange,[2] Laplace,[3] and Sir Willian Herschel.[4] The first two were Frenchmen, the latter, though a German by birth, accomplished his great work in England, under the patronage of the English king. Laplace and Lagrange worked together a great deal and their work was principally mathematical, solving great astronomical problems, such as the libration of the moon, the long inequality of Jupiter and Saturn, the stability of the orbits of the planets, etc. All of these questions were necessary to establish the truth of Newton's theory that gravitation was the controlling force of the movements of the starry universe.

Laplace advanced the nebular hypothesis of the formation of the world, the theory which, with some modifications, is the accepted one to-day. The work of Sir Will-

[1] For a description of the experiments of Galvani and Volta, vide Routledge, Op. cit. p. 548, *et seq.*

[2] 1736-1813. [3] 1749-1827. [4] 1738-1822.

iam Herschel, however, was in a practical line. He constructed his own telescope and began to study the heavens. When it became known that he had discovered a new planet, Uranus, his fame was established. He also discovered many double stars, studied and classified the nebulæ, or star clusters, and finally, proved that our sun is rushing through space at an enormous rate of speed. It had previously been regarded as stationary, and his discovery gave a new light to the grand system of the universe.

The nineteenth century brings to our consideration the work of men who are still living. The success in all branches of study and investigation has been such as to surprise and startle us. But we must again call the attention of the student of history to the much greater scientific impetus with which this century opened than had any previous one. All the knowledge that had thus far been gained formed but a foundation on which our century was to build. So great is the structure that has thus far been erected, that a mere outline would fill volumes. We will try, however, to follow it in brief but chronological order.

The study of astronomy was continued with unabating interest and much greater success. Comets were named, and their courses mapped out; asteroids were discovered; in distant space a new planet, Neptune, was found circling around our sun. Sir John Herschel wrote about all these discoveries in popular language, and revealed all this knowledge to the whole world; meteors were explained; and then the science of spectrum analysis was developed, and it told scientists facts of which they had little dreamed. The last of these steps in astronomy deserves more than a passing notice. All this time, it must be remembered, experiments with light and heat and in other departments

physics and chemistry were in progress; and, among her valuable arts discovered, was that of photography. n 1802, Dr. Wolloston, in experimenting with light, dis-vered seven dark, upright lines in the solar spectrum.

A German scientist, Joseph Fraunhofer, also dis-vered these lines, studied them, measured them, and mpared them with the spectra of star-light, and other ght. In this way, he proved that the light from the sun

Tinder Box, Etc.

l from the stars must be different, for the dark lines ıld not correspond. Not to go into the technical study spectrum analysis, we can give the result of this plan tudy. When Bunsen and Kirchoff, professors at Heidel-g, took up this study, they proved that the spectrum of ry metal produces one bright line, which corresponds h a dark line in the solar spectrum. It was further covered, that by passing sun-light through the flame of netal, it will darken the bright line of that metal,

Therefore it became evident that the white light of the sun must pass through the incandescent vapors of various metals before it reaches the earth, and that these vapors must be in the atmosphere of the sun.[1]

The result of these experiments was the revelation that the sun and many of the stars are composed of just such metals as is our earth. It then dawned upon the scientific world that the Creator of this starry universe had used the same material for making all his worlds. Of the great service of the spectroscope in chemical analysis, we cannot here speak, for it would lead us into a technical study of the whole science. We must turn our attention next to the study of electricity; and, even here, we can barely refer to the various steps that have been made from time to time in the practical use of that subtle power.

The Voltaic pile, of which mention has been made, was the first form of what are called electric batteries. Improvements were made in the manufacture of these batteries, and electricity became a prominent study in the universities. One day, by accident, Professor Oersted, of Copenhagen, discovered the effect that a current of electricity had upon a magnetic needle. Thus a new science called electro-magnetism was introduced. Then Ampere, a French professor, began to experiment in this new science. Electro-magnets were made. Then the great Faraday took up the study and showed that an electric current can be created by means of a magnet. Professor Seebeck produced electricity by means of heat during the same period. And lastly, the electric telegraph was in-

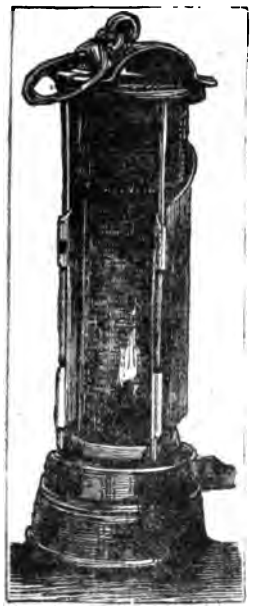
1 In this matter, we have followed the usual authorities, but it seems that our American scientist, Dr. Draper, was the unacknowledged source from which the German professors drew some of their ideas. This will be shown in the next chapter.

vented. We must now notice that the knowledge of electricity had become so generally spread throughout the world that three electric telegraphs were invented the same year—one by Wheatstone and Coke, of England; another by Dr. Steinheil, of Munich; a third by Professor Morse, of America.

These were, of course, crude machines and almost impracticable at first. But later study has perfected them, making it possible to transmit messages, from ocean to ocean, across the continents of the world. Then the cable was made so that the electric wire might be stretched from shore to shore beneath the intervening oceans, and messages be made to encircle the earth in a few moment's time. How wonderful does this appear! But still more astonishing is the invention of the telephone, which, by means of electricity, enables one to converse with friends many miles distant, and distinguish their voices. Then, too, we hear rumors of the still more wonderful invention of the phonograph, whereby whole letters, lectures, etc. can be transmitted to a waxen tablet, filling the silent sheet with the voices of our distant friends, to the music of which we can listen as soon as the cylinder reaches us. Thus, perhaps, at no distant day, by the aid of this subtle power, we can treasure up the voices of our departed friends, and oft commune with them again in the secret chambers of our deserted homes.

In the field of chemistry, we must not pass by unnoticed the work of Sir Humphrey Davy and a few others. The work of Davy continues in a measure the study of electricity; namely, in its application to chemical analysis. Water had already been separated into its component gasses by electricity, but Davy perfected this process, which is called electrolysis. Then he applied the same

process to the decomposition of earths into their elemental parts, discovering potassium and one or two other metals. It might here be remarked that Faraday was his pupil, and that the two names are often connected with the same work. But we can always remember the name of the former by its connection with a "safety lamp," a simple invention whereby a light can with safety be carried into a mine or well containing explosive gasses.[1]



The Davy Lamp.

The name of Dalton is also connected with the chemical researches of this period. By showing that definite chemical elements always combine in definite proportions, and by advancing the modern atomic theory, giving chemical analysis a definite nomenclature, he showed how the composition of any substance can be expressed simply and definitely, and how actions and reactions of chemicals can be simply explained. This did much to perfect the science of chemistry.

In botany, the name of the great German poet, Goethe, comes before us as a scientist. Here he appears as almost the first to set forth the development theory, for he showed that all the various organs of a plant are but peculiar transformations of the stems and leaves—the soil and the method of cultivation affecting its growth to a large extent. In 1859, appeared the last printed pages of Alexander von Humboldt's "Cosmos." He had been sixty-six years in writing this description of the universe, travelling the world over

[1] Vide Routledge: "Popular History of Science," London, 1881, p. 611.

in his knowledge.[1] In this work we have the founda- of the study of physical geography.

As the work of Humboldt belongs to the first years of century, so do the labors of three great professors at 'Museum of Natural History" in Paris. These were arck, Cuvier, and Geoffrey St.-Hillaire. Lamarck wed Goethe in the development theory, but his field udy was among animals. He tried to point out how ie varied forms of animal life may have been formed

Dean Stanley.

simpler ones by gradual changes, subject, more or less, eir various environments. Now Geoffrey St.-Hillaire art accepted this theory. His work was with the is of various animals, and he believed that the differ- rgans of different animals are the same, only modified it environment and general mode of life of the par- ir animal; as, for example, the leg of a dog and the

[1] Buckley: "History of Natural Science," p. 384.

wing of a bird are but different modifications of the same organ.

In this way was the comparative method of study, which has done so much for the establishment of true knowledge, introduced. Cuvier carried on the same method, but reached very different conclusions. His work was with the skeletons of animals. As he studied the bony framework of animals, he was struck more and more with the admirable adaptability of the various bones of any one skeleton to the whole. So well did he understand the necessary mechanism of a skeleton, that, it is claimed, from a single bone or more, he could tell the probable structure of an entire animal. Now he could not believe that the various parts of the vertebrate skeleton could take the various forms found in the different species. To him, every particular bone was made for every particular use in a particular skeleton. So he discarded the development theory.

The work of Cuvier, however, opened a mine of information to the scientist. For, by it we are told of the various and strange animals that dwelt upon the earth in the geological eras of the past. Cuvier visited the caves of the continent, and pictured for us the quadrupeds that dwelt in a temperate Europe before the Glacial Age. So, too, he cut the fossil from the stone quarry, and told us of other strange animals that roamed through the forests or swam the waters of a Mesozoic Europe. Thus the study of comparative anatomy, founded by Cuvier, has revealed to mankind many of the secrets of nature's history.

Von Baer next took up the study of embryology, and showed how admirably it harmonized with the theory of development thus far set forth; for he showed that "the embryos or beginnings of an ox, a bird, a lizard, or a fish,

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

are so like each other that they can only be distinguished by their size; and what is more remarkable, they remain alike until they have been growing for some time."[1] Then each would gradually change into its own peculiar kind. How fitting it is that Sir Charles Lyell and Louis Agassiz should turn their minds to the study of science just at this time. As the former walked abroad in the fields, he began to observe the changes that were daily occurring in the world about us.

Cardinal Newman.

Lyell noticed the rivulets and rills as they carried their loads of mud down from the mountain tops through the great river systems, thence to the ocean, and spread these enormous cargoes of soil over the bottom of the sea. He noticed the burial of all manner of animals in this new made soil. He observed the action of the earthquake in changing the surface of the earth, causing some portions

[1] Buckley, p. 401.

to rise and other portions to sink. He saw the volcano belching forth its mountains of molten minerals. From all this evidence, he showed how the rocks with their fossils had been formed in the past, and how they were raised to their present position on the mountain sides. All this was new to scientists, and the people in general were by no means ready to abandon the old conception that the world in just its modern shape and condition came into form immediately at the fiat of God.

But the people were soon to receive further lessons in world-building from the great Agassiz. This scientist dwelt in the vicinity of the great glaciers of the Alps, and studied their courses and the effects they had upon the nature of the country about. Then he travelled and observed how the great plains of Europe and the mountains of Scotland and America, as well, showed all the signs of having been subjected to the action of enormous glaciers. Then he perceived how the northern hemisphere had passed through a Glacial Age, and how the glaciers had helped in forming much of the soil of our present plains.[1] In this way, by the aid of these eminent scientists, was advanced what has been accepted as the true theory of the process by which portions of the surface of the earth have been improved and rendered more fertile and better fitted for animal and vegetable life. The same process is going on around us to day, and is further changing the surface of the earth.

It was necessary that all these great changes should take place, and all this new learning become spread abroad in order to prepare the world for still greater and more startling theories. Scientists were sorely puzzled for many years to explain the process by which the various

[1] Vide Vol. I. ch. v.

ecies and kinds of animals originated from a few, as amarck, St.-Hillaire, and Von Baer had reasoned. At t, as a key to the great development theory, Darwin d Wallace, at about the same time, hit upon an admi- ble explanation, which removes many of the stumbling

Charles Darwin.

acks which were constantly in the way of their prede- ssors.

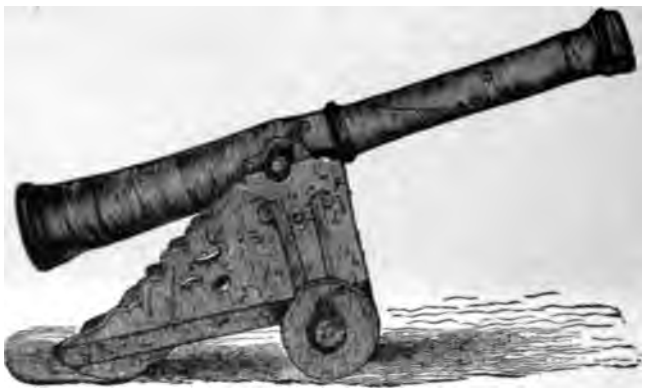
This new theory was that of "natural selection," and ry be made to explain the origin of the different families

of animals as well as the various species of any one family. We will endeavor to briefly interpret this theory, by means of a few illustrations. Take for instance the rabbit. We might ask why there are no wild *white* rabbits. The advocate of natural selection would answer that the grass in which the rabbit lives, being of the same color as the ordinary rabbit, hides it from its enemies, while the white rabbit is made the more conspicuous by its color. Therefore, the animals that prey upon the rabbit would be enabled to capture all the white ones while the grass would hide the others. The latter by interbreeding would in time produce only brown rabbits. In a similar way, insects were produced that appear exactly like the leaves of the plants on which they rest.

This theory is also identical with that of the survival of the fittest. To illustrate, the retractile claw is supposed not to have been natural to all of the first felines, but it enabled those that were fortunate enough to possess them to better seize their prey. Thus they are supposed to have flourished, while the less fortunate died, and, consequently, in time, all the family became thus marked. So, too, we might remark that the potato bug and locust (grasshopper) of our own country have increased in such swarms as to destroy whole crops, because no animal has yet been found to feed upon them. All of us know what changes man has produced in domestic plants and animals by favoring certain peculiarities. Nature, too, seems to be pursuing the same plan in developing the life of her kingdom.

We have traced the progress of scientific study from the crude ideas of medieval times to the more perfect knowledge and the more reasonable theories of our own times. No one can prophesy of the future. The dis-

coveries of the French Dr. Pasteur in the field of vaccination as the treatment for some of the diseases of mankind that have hitherto baffled the physician's skill, may, if found practicable, revolutionize the science of medicine. So, too, when we consider how great and wonderful changes have, within a few years, been brought about by the discoveries in electricity, when we consider how insignificant our knowledge of that subtle force, how can we foretell what the study of science may reveal to us in the near future? We appear to be standing upon the threshold of



Swedish Leather Cannon.

new era of progress, more promising than any that the world has yet seen, and that may, to future generations, be known as the "Age of Electricity."

What wonderful changes have been wrought in social life by the study of science. We can, perhaps, get some idea of this by a rapid review of the progress or growth of inventive genius to satisfy the increasing demands of society for new inventions. Gunpowder was among the first valuable discoveries made by the chemist. By its use in blasting, it enabled the same number of miners to greatly increase the produce of ores so as to render them cheaper. Of its use in war, it led to the manufacture of the first

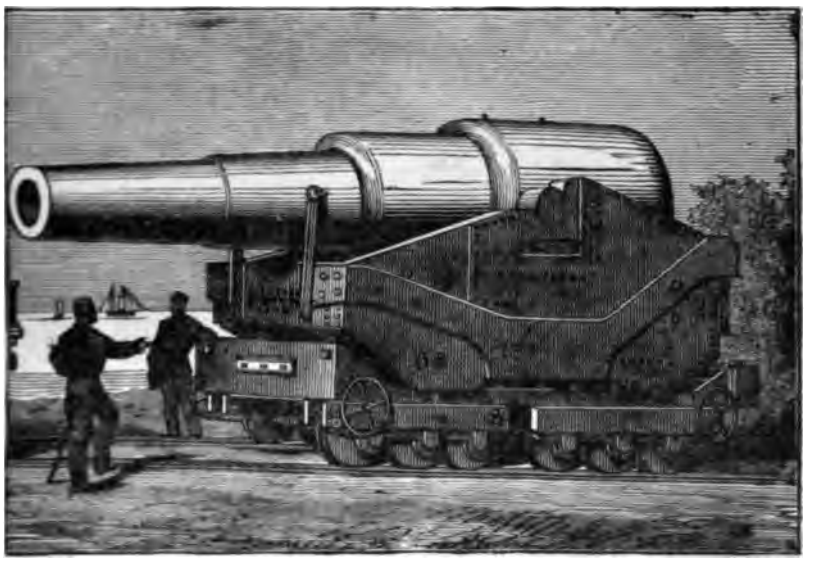
leather cannon, then as iron ore became more common, cannon were made of wrought iron but were very costly and unwieldly. The cast-iron cannon followed. Then as machinery of other kinds came into use, such as drills run by steam, etc., solid cannons were cast, and bores of any caliber were drilled. The balls have been improved accordingly, in the start stones were used. The range of the guns has steadily grown—at the battle of Waterloo, a distance of eight hundred yards was considered out of range. Now guns are in use that carry balls with destructive force five miles.[1] New explosives have been recently introduced whereby it is claimed that a single shot can be thrown ten miles, and the explosion that follows its striking an object will shatter to fragments the largest gunboat that sails.

So, too, with small arms, there has been a steady improvement from the clumsy barrel with its heavy rest, its two kinds of powder—a fine for priming and a coarse for loading—the burning taper for lighting the fuse, and its uselessness after the first discharge; through the fire lock, flint-lock, percussion cap, needle gun, and repeating guns, to the deadly weapon of modern times. Nowadays, rulers regard war as quite another thing than did the knights of feudal times. When a single gunboat can anchor out of sight of New York city and blow her buildings into fragments in a few hours' time, it is well for nations to avoid wars. They are too expensive in destruction of both life and property.

Wars have, therefore, grown of shorter duration. Feeble nations cannot afford to begin war even to protect their most cherished rights. Large nations are ruined in a short time. The Franco-Prussian war lasted only two months before Napoleon surrendered. And this surrender

[1] Yeats: "Technical History of Commerce," p. 333.

illustrates another feature of warfare unknown even in feudal times. Napoleon III. surrendered with an army of eighty-four thousand men rather than cause any useless loss of life. This humane spirit has grown in connection with the spirit of toleration and freedom. Formerly, it was considered no crime for the victorious army to butcher the wounded enemies as they lay upon the field of battle. Modern warfare will permit nothing of the kind. Inter-



An Eighty-Ton Gun.

national law has recently developed into a science. It demands that wounded enemies shall have the same medical and surgical attendance as wounded friends, and unnecessary butchery is prohibited. International law also demands that prisoners meet with humane treatment from their captors, and no longer is slavery the lot of the vanquished in battle.

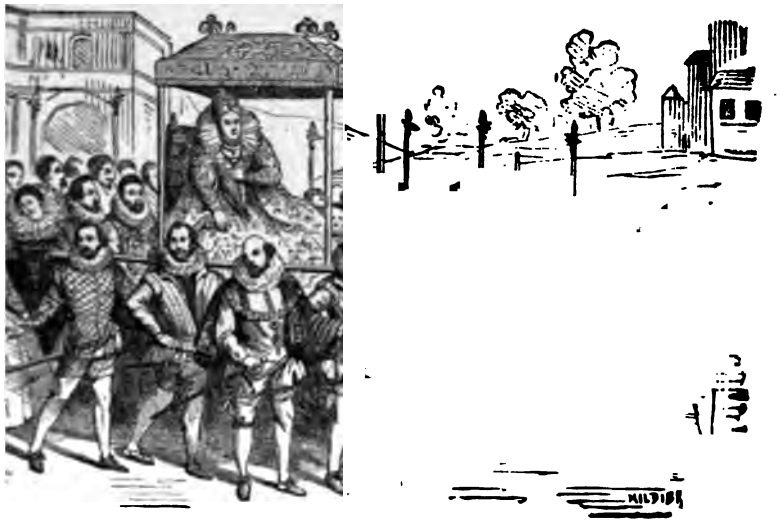
Indeed, the tendency is, in our day, to avoid war altogether. Questions of dispute are now usually settled

by arbitration. Commissions are appointed to determine the facts in a case. Congresses, such as the Berlin Congress, are convened to legislate upon international affairs. In this way, a system of international law is forming which tends more and more to unify the nations of the Aryan world. These congresses become more and more frequent, and point to a time when Aryan nations may become as states under one central representative government with a code of international law which every nation is bound to obey. Then, should the new language, Volapuk, become universal, the world may witness what seems to us almost improbable—a united population, of the same racial type, with the same language, which is the work of the inventive genius of our time. But here we have allowed ourselves to lapse into dreams. Let us return to more practical questions.

Society did not rest satisfied with the steam-engine as improved by James Watt, though it enabled what little machinery there was in use in those days to do many times the amount of work that it had been able to do with other forms of motive power. So there was a greater demand for crude material. More coal and ore were needed. Canals were run through the country to promote the cheap transportation of raw material to the centers of manufacture. Stages were introduced as a means of rapid travel. Carriages were deemed so unsafe that Good Queen Bess preferred to ride in a sedan-chair borne on the shoulders of sturdy yeoman.

The traffic in coal became more and more important as manufacturing in England increased, and how to transport it from the mines to the factories was a great problem in those days. Rapid transportation was demanded. Every means possible to cheapen transportation was

lopted It was found that a horse could draw a much eavier load over a carefully graded road. The advantage f laying wooden rails along the road was found to greatly ncrease the power of a horse. To cover these rails with ron was found to save the rails. To make the entire rail f cast-iron proved a saving.[1] Then stationary steam-gines came into use for transporting coal up and down clines and over portions of these rude railways. Early our present century, a number of engineers were experi-



Queen Elizabeth in Her Chair.

nting with locomotive engines, and even used them for nsporting coal over one or two of these short railway es in the mining districts.

Among these engineers was George Stephenson, "the gine-wright of Killingworth," who made an engine in 13 that could draw thirty tons at the rate of four miles hour. This he improved by the introduction of the am-blast[2] so as to double its power and speed, and

[1] Croal: "About Travelling," p. 455.
[2] Op. cit. p. 461.

proved the adaptability of the engine for transportation purposes. A few years later, the English Parliament was asked to pass a bill authorizing the construction of the Stocktonand Darlington railway, permitting the use of any kind of motive power, and the transportation of passengers as well as goods. This bill met with strong opposition in three Parliaments before it passed.

This act authorized the construction of a railway twenty-five miles long, and opened the London market to the colliers of Durham and Yorkshire. When the project was under discussion, Stephenson proposed to the proprietors that the steam-engine be used as a motive power. His plan was adopted amid many prophecies that it would fail. But at last the day was set for the trial.[1] The road was completed, and Stephenson's engine stood upon the track. Crowds of people came from far and near to witness the trial. They lined the track from one end to the other impatient to see the first railway train. The anxious throng crowded on board determined to ride. At last there were six hundred passengers on board. Finally it started amid enthusiastic cheers. Horsemen on either side dashed through the fields to keep it company. When, at a suitable portion of the road, the horseman who preceded the train with a banner was told to clear the track, Stephenson turned on the steam, and the train sped over the country at the incredible and dangerous speed of fifteen miles an hour! Thus was ushered in our wonderful age of steam.

The fears that were entertained at the dangers of such rapid transit are almost ludicrous, but were genuine among the people of those days. We cannot mention them here, however, but would draw the comparison between the full

[1] Sept. 27th, 1825.

peed of the first engine and the ordinary speed of the
ocomotive on the fast lines of our day, where a mile a
inute is no alarming rate of travel. Then, too, we must
otice what the railroad has done for society in opening up
ll portions of the world to settlement; the inventive
enius it has called forth in spanning rivers and chasms

George Stephenson.

ith bridges of steel, the mechanism of which is wonder-
l to behold; in enabling mankind to obtain the com-
odities of the world to use for his comfort or luxury; in
nabling the manufacturer to gather raw material from the
nds of the world at a low rate of expense; in demanding
f the manufacturing world greater and more intricate

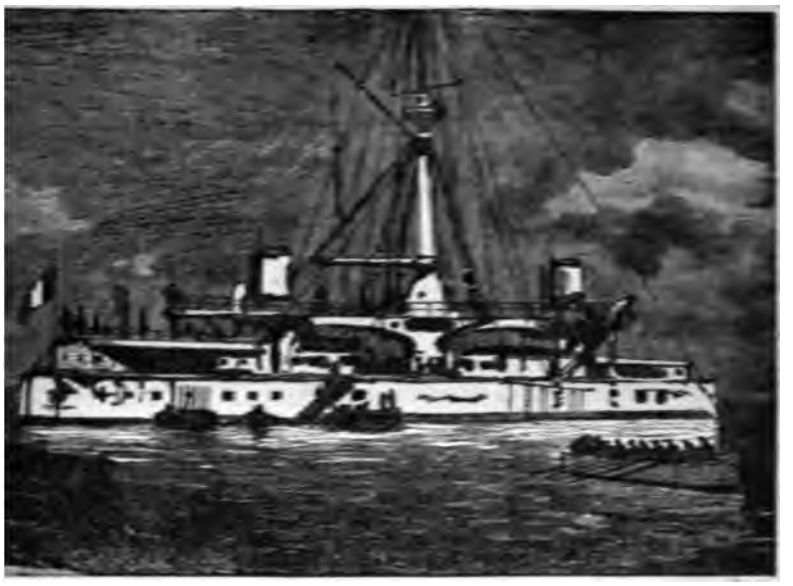
machinery, not only to furnish the great railways with their rolling stock, but to convert the amount of raw material thus brought to the doors of the factories, into articles of use or beauty.

While we wish to give the steamboat its share of the honor of all this change, we will reserve that for a future place. We must now turn our attention to the consideration of the great revolution in the social world that has been brought about by our inventive genius, aided by Watt's application of the steam-engine to manufacturing and Stephenson's application of the same to railway transportation. We take first the printing-press. We have seen how rude a machine the first one was. The type was cut from blocks of wood; and the mechanism of the simple machinery was thought to be the work of the devil. Hand-made metallic type proved superior to wooden. The demand for books increased; a faster mode of type manufacture was demanded; casting was introduced; at last machine-casting was invented, greatly increasing the supply of type. As the demand for printed books increased new machinery for the manufacture of paper was demanded. The inventive genius was not found wanting here. As a result, "paper more than four miles in length and two yards in width has been produced in one piece. Fine writing paper is sized with gelatine, dried, and cut into sheets at the rate of sixty feet in length and seventy inches in width per minute."[1]

To keep step with these increased facilities for supplying type and paper as well as to satisfy the demand of the more generally educated masses for reading matter, new machinery was brought into being for every department of the printer's art. Hand presses have been obliged to give

1 Yeats; "Technical History of Commerce," p. 374.

y to those run by steam. Simple machines were re-
ced by the complicated revolving cylinder presses.
wspapers have abolished the old coffee-houses of Eng-
d where every one went to learn the news. Competi-
n in newspaper work, the introduction of telegraphy,
l the general rush of this century demand daily more and
re rapid facilities for spreading news abroad. In 1806,



Modern War Ship.

thousand impressions per hour was rapid work, and
n it required a feeder and many assistants to produce a
wspaper folded and ready for sale.

Now there are London newspapers that have a daily
culation of more than a quarter of a million copies. A
ech delivered in the House of Commons at four a. m. is
en found in the six o'clock editions of the morning
pers. The machinery that does this is capable of making
rty-nine thousand impressions an hour, "feeding itself
m a roll of paper four miles long, and weighing six

hundred-weight, it dampens the paper, prints both sides from vertical stereotype cylinders, finishes off between polished rollers which remove superfluous ink, dries the paper in the process, then cuts into sheets, keeping tally of the number, and when government stamps were enforced upon newspapers, impressing and registering the stamp. As a final incident, thrown in for a boon—not a trifling one—the sheets fold and arrange themselves in piles for delivery.[1]"

The book business has felt the stimulus of all this energy. Germany, it is claimed, leads in book work. Leipsic sends out about five million booksellers' parcels every year. Six thousand new books appear every year in Germany. The State printing-office at Vienna employs eight hundred and fifty men. The British Bible Society has sent out over one hundred million copies of the Scriptures in two hundred and seventy languages and dialects, in about three-fourths of a century. All this represents a great improvement in the machinery used in bookbinding and in every department of the bookmaker's art.

We next glance at the progress of inventive genius in the fully as important arts relating to the manufacture of clothing. The persecution of the Protestants in the Spanish Netherlands, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV., did much to revive manufacturing in England, for thousands of these persecuted people found homes on the freer soil of England. They were acquainted with the manufactures of the day, and were a peaceful and industrious people. Therefore England became the gainer by their arrival on her shores.

The process of spinning was a very slow, tedious one until the time of Hargreaves.[2] Previously, the peasant

[1] Yeats, Op. cit. p. 377 and 476. [2] 1764.

a her cottage with her hard hands carded the wool into olls, and spun it into thread. She could make only one hread at a time, and reel off, after a hard day's work, perups, a pound of yarn. Hargreaves invented a machine at would produce eight threads at once. This was the inning-jenny. Six years later Arkwright invented a achine that "carded, rove, and spun with astonishing ickness and precision." Nine years later, Crompton

Ancient Distaff Spinner.

mbined Hargreaves' "jenny" and Arkwright's "frame," d produced the spinning-mule. This machine was fitted · the entire process of manufacture of yarn from the raw aterial. And see what a change it has made in the nount of yarn that can be produced. Arkwright's achine could produce eight threads at a time, the modern ;le of Crompton's "mule" will produce twenty-two

hundred[1] at a time, and all these spindles can be kept in operation by one attendant.

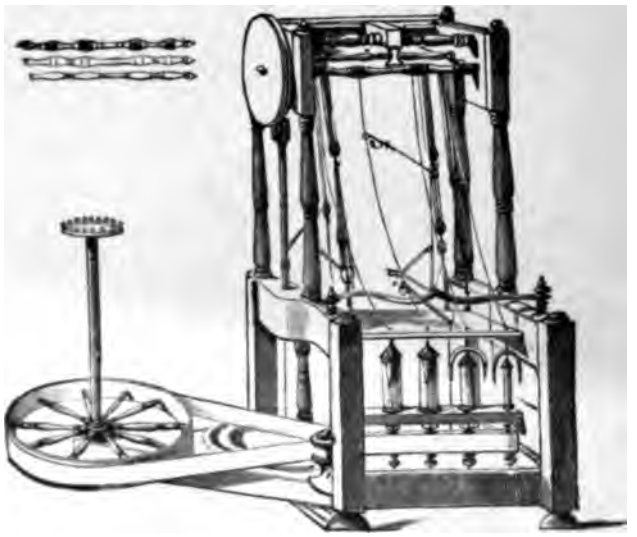
These spindles are now made to perform eight thousand revolutions a minute, and yarn can be made so fine that one pound would extend about five hundred miles. The process has been so perfected that almost any kind of raw material suitable for that purpose can be made into yarn by machinery. But see the effect that has been brought about. The invention of the spinning-mule enabled the mills to turn more raw material into cloth than the world could furnish. Then Whitney produced his cotton-gin, by which one machine was made to do the work of over three thousand hands in picking the seeds from cotton, and preparing it for the spinning machine.

Then the cultivation of cotton became an extensive business, for there was an ever-increasing demand for it. So, too, with flax and wool. This led the agriculturist to adopt improved methods for cultivating the ground. The inventive genius and science have helped the farmer by the invention of new machinery, and by preparing the soil for the production of better crops. The grazier was led to take better care of his flocks, for more wool was needed. So marshes were drained and forests were cleared, parks were abandoned and mountains were occupied, in order to furnish pasture lands for the increasing flocks. New breeds were introduced, as were also improved methods of stock-raising. In fact, the science of the agriculturist has been established as one of the great occupations of mankind, and the world is made to bloom like a garden.

But now the manufacturer was supplied with raw material and machinery capable of manufacturing enor-

[1] Am. Encyclopædia.

quantities of thread, new machinery was needed in to manufacture this thread into cloth. Kay's fly le had already come into use, but this was incapable oing the amount of work necessary. At last, Cart- ght invented the power-loom, and the Jacquard loom e into use. Then, as these were improved by one in- tion after another, the weavers were abundantly e to use all the yarn that the millions of spindles ld produce from the raw material at hand. And even



Arkwright Spinning Machine.

more, for it was found necessary to introduce methods for saving raw material. The silk cocoon was made to furnish three or four times as many yards as formerly, and bits of cloth, etc., are now used in the manufacture of "shoddy" goods that have come into pretty general use. In order to convey to the reader some idea of the extent of manufacturing by the new processes as compared with the old, the statement has been made that "there are in manufacturing districts of the British Isles at least fifty

million spindles, producing yearly, in the three materials (cotton, wool, and flax), fifteen hundred million pounds of yarn. This is equivalent to the hand-labor of forty million spinners; while the number of hands actually engaged is less than three-quarters of a million."[1]

By the application of steam as a motive power in manufacturing, England has been transformed into one vast factory. The railroad and the steamboat has enabled her manufacturers to draw to their doors abundance of raw material from the remotest corners of the earth. Then the telegraphic and cable lines are also of great use; for the manufacturer is enabled to watch the foreign market, and instantly notify his agents to buy his raw material or sell a consignment of goods as the prices turn to his advantage. Thus are both time and space conquered by the skill and ingenuity of mankind.

We must now notice very briefly the progress in machine construction or the changing of the ores into the powerful and complicated machines that are everywhere in use. Of course a great amount of machinery is necessary to enable us to produce such mechanical inventions as the various forms of the steam-engine, the printing-press, the various departments of cloth manufacture, etc. First, in mining the ore great improvements have been introduced. Then in smelting a rolling process has been introduced that is supplanting the steam hammers, the falling weights of some of which equalled eighty tons, in crushing ores. In making steel, a process of hydraulic pressure is used instead of the old process. A continuous pressure of eight hundred to fifteen hundred tons can thus be exerted.[2] Then the Bessemer and Siemen methods of converting

1 Yeats, Op. cit. p. 276.
2 Yeats, Op. cit. p. 469.

iron into steel have rendered the latter so cheap that it is used for railroad rails and many ordinary purposes

Bessemer Converter.

where it was formerly considered as too expensive.

Then rolling-presses have been introduced in the pro-

cess of transforming iron into the proper shape for handling. Thus is bar-iron transformed into plates, and these into sheets. A rod of iron can be extended by this process from four feet to thirty-two. Rails for railways are thus rolled. So, too, are iron plates bent into shape for ship-building and for boiler-making. In the process of nail-making, machinery does the work, turning out nearly one thousand nails per minute. Two youths can convert two tons of iron into six thousand screws in one ordinary day's work.

The greatest skill in mechanism has been reached in the manufacture of machinery by machinery. Parts are made and adjusted that must not vary by one-thousandth part of an inch in order to work in their places. Thus, the chisel for filing or smoothing an iron bar was a mere point, working with such precision as to almost polish the surface, until it was superseded by the rotatory cutter, which could not be adjusted with sufficient accuracy until solid emery wheels where introduced for grinding so that the cutters could be sharpened "without softening, filing, and retempering." Such elegant precision must be attained in the manufacture of the largest and bulkiest machinery, and such has the machinist attained.

The benefits accruing to society from all this knowledge of science, and from all the mechanism of the machine world can barely be hinted at in our present chapter. It has raised the agriculturist from the half savage cowherd of early medieval times, who subsisted upon the flesh of his flocks and depended upon their skins for his dress, into an educated gentleman, clothed in the finest of garments and fitted to occupy almost any sphere in life. It has taken the laborer from the pits and slums and drudgery of a life barely fitted for the brutes, and con-

d him into the skilled mechanic, supplying his former
ded place with machinery of the most beautiful
anism. By furnishing abundance of books and papers,
s made education universal, and enabled every indi-
l to cast off the bonds of ignorance and become in-

Baron Rothschild.

dent of any would-be dictators or masters. Even
es who occupy the lowly positions formerly occupied
rvants, serfs, or slaves are enabled to gain a store
owledge that may place them in a better position.
are enabled to surround themselves with comforts;
an dress in silks that the fairest Roman matrons

could not have afforded; new avenues of life open before them; and they, too, taste the sweets as well as the gall of life.

In modern society, therefore, birth has not the significance that it had in medieval times. There is nowadays an aristocracy of wealth, and wealth is open to every one, no matter what his birth. Those who reach this pinnacle of fame are by no means few, but are becoming more and more numerous with every generation. It is rarely possible for the boor to reach a position in the ranks of this aristocracy without attaining education and polish that are wanting in many of the modern representatives of the old style of aristocracy of birth. So we find, among this new aristocracy, the true patrons of science and the arts. They own libraries and art galleries; they endow schools and colleges; they maintain charities; and they sacrifice their lives for the benefit and the blessing of mankind.

There is also now an aristocracy of education, and education is open to all. The learned rank high in every land, and are even supplanting the old line of rulers in authority in many of the nations of Europe. Where will we find a grander historical character than Gladstone, for many years the virtual ruler of the British Empire. Prince Bismarck is the autocrat of Germany still. Still it was the improvement of their advantages, or their education, rather than rank that raised them to these commanding positions. So every village or hamlet in the most flourishing of European countries has its educated and to a degree polished circle, whose members enjoy a social standing above those who neglect the advantages offered them upon every hand. This is a real aristocracy, a proud aristocracy; but its ranks are open to any who will improve to best advantage his God-given powers. Every man, however,

is obliged to maintain his rank in this aristocracy or else he will soon fall below. So there is always a sufficient reward to stimulate every one to work incessantly for one's own greater improvement.

Now, in conclusion, we would again point to the much better and happier condition of mankind than at any pre-

William Gladstone.

vious period in the world's history. Then we have noticed that the improvement in the culture of mankind has been much more rapid during the modern era, and has ever increased in geometrical ratio. If we search for the impetus which set this great world of modern wisdom and culture in motion, we will find it in the freedom of the

tellect from serfdom or slavery to its political and religious rulers. The nobility and the ecclesiastics were holding the individual intellect under a bondage more terrible than can now be conceived. As soon, however, as the intellect of man arose and shook off its lethargy and demanded its natural freedom, individuals came forth to vie with the old-time royalty for supremacy.

In every branch of culture that we have been enabled to examine, we have noticed an almost continuous line of progress. Here and there, human ignorance has interfered and broken this line; but, like the broken cable on the ocean's bed, the threads are soon caught up and the line again made continuous. We would not be taken for optimists, for many of the plans of men are unwise; but we have no sympathy for the pessimist who detects good in nothing except the antiquated. To him who points to the remote past as the "Golden Age" of the world, this study of the progress and development of mankind from the ruder to the more cultured, from the rough stone to the polished stone period, so to speak, should teach that the real "Golden Age" must be far in the future, when the intellect of man has reached a state of perfection, of which we now know not. When the finite shall have drifted into the infinite. When the the human intellect shall have attained more nearly to the divine in power. Such a Utopian age is real only to the dreamer, however, for man's motto should ever be upward and onward.

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CHAPTER VI.

AMERICAN CULTURE.

...ent in Mexico and Central America—South American Repub- ...Early American Settlers—The Puritans—Religious Toleration ...dition at Close of Revolutionary War—Life in Southern Colo- ...Effect of Slavery—Manufacturing in the Colonies—British Re- ...ions—Life in the Northern Colonies—Introduction of Steam ...inery—American Inventive Ingenuity—Printing Machines— ...copes—Improvements in Telegraphy—The Telephone—The ...ograph—Electrical Motors—American Engineering—Progress ...ience—Astronomy—Medical Science—Educational Facilities— ...Educators—American Literature—Franklin—Edwards—Amer- ...Statesmen—Washington Irving—Longfellow—Whittier—Ec- ...stics—Historical Writers—Development of the Great West— Growth in Population—Conclusions.

A SCHOLAR need not possess the subtle powers of the seer or prophet to foresee that the American historian, a few ages hence, will only half-tell his story if he confines himself to the tale of the won- levelopment of our own favored country. Far to th, there are many young republics which promise ith us, if not in extent of territory, surely in cul- terprise, and the liberty granted to their subjects. nt Monroe was among the first legislators to recog- ir importance; he foresaw the future possibilities of an nations, and determined to cast the influence of ted States in their behalf. The "Monroe Doctrine" all foreign powers that our republic would not ance any scheme of conquest on the part of ambitious princes.

This relieved the feebler American countries from the fear of foreign conquest. In process of time, the example set by the United States, in throwing off the yoke of allegiance to an European country, was followed by one after another of the various colonies in America, until this great western world has become pre-eminently the home of Republics. Mexico, our nearest neighbor on the south, is still trammeled by antiquated laws and customs. But, as modern enterprise and ideas are quietly forcing their way into her territory, the old must give place to the new, and the antiquated to the improved.

Further south, we come upon the republics of Central America. There are five of them, and they are in a very prosperous condition. The territory of these countries is becoming covered with railroads and telegraphs. Schools and colleges have been established. Foreign commerce is encouraged. Foreign capitalists are invited to invest there, and they are protected by the governments. Great inducements are offered to immigrants, and thrift is the reward of their energy. The last progressive step was but recently taken when, by the treaty of Guatemala,[1] such mutual agreements were enacted as may tend in time to unite the five into one large republic. Not a bad idea of the social stage of these states may be gathered from the first article of this agreement, which declares, that perpetual peace shall exist, and that all differences shall be arranged or submitted to arbitration. Thus acknowledging one of the foremost principles of international law.

But the republics of South America are far more important still. Of the great divisions of that continent, all except two are republics. Guiana is a dependency of European countries, and Brazil is an empire. The latter

[1] April 15th, 1887.

on shows much less encouragement to progress than he others except, perhaps, Paraguay. In fact, the s would rather indicate a retrogression than a progress mmerce, agriculture, manufacturing, etc.[1] However, as zil has but recently abolished slavery, we may look for pid change in this respect, and even the plan of gov- nent may yet be changed. The greatest export of zil is coffee. Of the republics, Paraguay is of the t importance. It has no sea-coast, and gives little uragement to commerce and manufacturing.

Venezuela has a population of more than two millions, is well supplied with schools, colleges, and universities. lroads and telegraphs have been projected into various s of the country; two sub-marine cables have been ected, one of which has been completed, connecting that ıtry with the United States, while an extensive and in- sing foreign commerce is carried on. Colombia is rather ıd of Venezuela, having a population of three and lf millions. The government has shown great activity ll departments. Modern enterprises are encouraged. ıt-houses and breakwaters are being erected. Several sand dollars have been voted by the government to steamship lines as shall make regular stoppages at ports. Railroad and telegraph lines have been ex- ed; cables have been laid; electric lights and water- ks have been introduced; and the whole condition of rs seems to be encouraging.

Uruguay is an important commercial state on the ntic coast, and Chili on the Pacific. The latter state nds for two thousand miles along the coast. The try is rich in mining products and raw materials. ufactories have been introduced, so that large quan-

[1] Yeats: "Recent and Existing Commerce," pp. 56-7.

tities of raw material are now imported. Wine, manufactured in Chili, is even attracting European notice. Although the republic encourages railroads and commerce, it does not meet the neighboring Atlantic state half way in the construction of transcontinental lines of railway. Chili seems rather to fear that a railroad line across the country, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, would ruin her harbors, since much of the produce annually carried around by the Straits of Magellan, would find a shorter and cheaper route across the continent. Chili enjoys electric lights and telephones as well as other evidences of modern improvement.

But of all the republics of South America, the Argentine Republic seems to have the brightest future. The old state of Patagonia has been unequally divided between Chili and the Argentine Republic, the latter receiving the lion's share. This makes it a large and powerful country, nearly eighteen hundred miles in length and eight hundred in breadth. It is a great tract of land suitable for grazing and agriculture, having stores of coal and other minerals as well as petroleum. The government of the Argentine Republic is one of the most enlightened in the southern continent. It has a good standing army and a navy with its iron-clads and torpedo boats. It enjoys the confidence of European financiers, and is, therefore, upon a solid basis.

The desire of the government seems to be to fill this great region of the La Plata valley with settlers as rapidly as possible. Immigration is not only encouraged but even sought. It has been decided to build a number of enormous hotels in the suburbs of Buenos Ayres, where thousands of immigrants can be supported until they are furnished with work or located on claims. A system of colonization

has been introduced whereby land is given to colonists and advances of money are also made them. As the result of all this encouragement and aid, more than a hundred thousand immigrants were received into the republic in 1886, making the entire population nearly four millions.

During the year mentioned, about three and a-half million dollars were expended on schools, in which nearly two hundred thousand pupils were taught. New industries are encouraged on an extensive scale. Not only grants of land, but large sums of money and immunity from taxation for a term of years are freely offered large corporations for the planting of important industries. Sugar refineries have been established, and the annual produce of refined cane sugar has reached forty thousand tons. The manufacture of cloth is also encouraged, and the culture of the vine. The grazing advantages may be imagined from the following facts—one firm with a capital of two million dollars has been organized to ship live cattle to Europe. In 1886, over three hundred and sixty thousand carcasses of sheep were shipped to Europe in refrigerator steamers.[1]

Taking all these facts into consideration, we can but perceive the wonderful resources still to be developed in the South American continent. We see there a number of republics, that are bent upon pushing forward as rapidly as possible the development of this wild territory. They start out with free and representative governments, and they offer liberty, encouragement, and assistance to just the class of immigrants that is helping develop our own free land. Therefore, we can hope for a great future in the culture history of our sister continent.

But for all that can be said for these other republics, the height of western culture is to be found only in our

[1] "Annual Cyclopædia," 1887.

own country, the United States. About a century and a decade ago, we became a free and independent country, so that our culture history may be said to begin with the Declaration of Independence on that memorable Fourth of July, 1776. Still it is fitting for us to examine the foundations upon which this vast structure of culture and enlightenment has been erected. This may lead us to glance into the century and a-half preceding our independence, and view the material with which our country has had to build, and the shaping of that material into the symmetrical form of the nation of '76.

Old Liberty Bell.

As we have seen in a former chapter, almost every nationality in Western Europe was represented among the early American colonists. In speaking of the hardships that these colonists, in common with all pioneers, had to undergo after reaching this country, the historian is apt to leave upon the mind of his readers the erroneous impression that the pioneers in American history were gathered exclusively from the poorer and lowlier classes of European society. It is true that the Virginian colony was sometimes recruited with convicts and other unpromising immigrants. But the manly descendants of the early settlers upon the Atlantic shores, prove that, on the

hole, they were extracted from no mean parentage.

This becomes evident when we view the lives of some the characters in our early history. We find among iem men of rank and influence as well as the sturdy oman. Few, if any, especially of the New England lonists, were of mean origin. But even in Virginia, we otice that more than half of the first settlers at Jamesown bore the title of "gentlemen,"[1] while noblemen and me of the younger sons of noblemen arrived there ithin a few years. To New England, a different class of ttlers was attracted. It is a matter of common history at our Puritan fathers first wandered to Holland, where eligious liberty was guaranteed to all mankind. It is in ur province to inquire into the standing of these people cially.

The Puritans were English Separatists or Dissenters om the established church. Among the earliest organized mmunities of these separatists, was the church at Gainsorough. John Smyth, a Cambridge graduate, was the astor in charge. There was another congregation at crooby. They met in the old manor-house of William Brewster, who, also, had been educated at Cambridge, had rved at court under "William Davidson, Elizabeth's pright and Puritan secretary of state." From this congregation, Richard Clyfton and John Robinson led a colony to Holland, where they were assured of greater freedom. ow John Robinson had been educated at Cambridge; nd, by his skill in the Calvinist controversy, afterward came a member of the Leyden University. The church t Leyden alone came to number three hundred communiants.

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[1] "Narrative and Critical History of the United States," Vol. III. . 125.

Edward Winslow was of higher social position than many others who emigrated to Leyden. He afterward became governor of the Plymouth colony. The colonists had been in this country only about twenty years before nearly all the towns were furnished with educated clergymen, some of whom were Cambridge graduates.[1] Men

Mayflower Relics.

who were able to draw such leaders, men who had the determination and the means to seek freedom, first on the continent and next in a New World, were the men who planted the germs of our New England colonies.

The Puritan colonists that came over with John Winthrop were not "broken men, adventurers, bankrupts, criminals, or simple poor men and artisans. . . They were

[1] "Narrative and Critical History," Vol. III. p. 280.

a great part men of the professional and middle classes; me of them men of large landed estate, some of them alous clergymen like Cotton, Hooker, and Roger Villiams; some shrewd London lawyers or young scholars om Oxford."[1] It is even claimed that John Hampden nd Oliver Cromwell were, before the Civil War, upon the oint of embarking for America when they were forbidden y a proclamation from the king.[2]

The White House.

We must note then that this early Puritan stock was not elected from a poor, oppressed, insignificant body of religious enthusiasts, but were members of a sect of dissenters rom the established churchs, or reformers; and this was at time when religious reformation was spreading rapidly ver the European continent. We must remember that less han thirty years from the date of the landing of the Pilrims, these reformers had overthrown the government of England, and had put Charles I. to death. It is not an un-

[1] Greene: "Short History of the English People," pp. 508-9.
[2] Guizot: "History of England," Vol. II. p. 421.

reasonable conclusion, then, to suppose that among this early Puritan stock, there were many educated and some wealthy families.

So, too, the sturdy followers of William Penn included many worthy citizens of England. Penn himself had a European reputation as well as an American one. So had Lord Baltimore, who founded the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland, and whose brother and son were, at different times, resident governors of the colony. The Dutch settlers along the Hudson had been attracted there by the fur trade of that region; and it is only reasonable to suppose that they consisted of many reliable and skilled traders who were willing to risk capital in this enterprise. So we are to picture the very first colonists in America as a mixture of the educated and the yeoman, the rich and the poor, the noble and the lowly—just the element of which all flourishing communities of the Old World were composed, except that there was more energy in a colony than in almost any home community, for the colonists were dependent upon their own resources, and the exercise of all their faculties was demanded.

In other words, the average American colonist would compare more than favorably with the average European resident, for there was as yet lacking in America the shiftless and indolent element so common in the old countries. But as to enlightenment, we can not reasonably expect to find the colonists much ahead of the mother-countries, except as they severally represented more strongly the advanced ideas that were stirring the social structure of Europe to its foundation. Every colony seems to have been the champion of some feature of individual freedom, but the spirit of universal toleration was at that time nowhere understood. The colonists, though the representa-

tives of Old World advanced thought, were not, as a whole, the the champions of universal toleration. The Puritan government, therefore, was as intolerant as the home government, so we find it persecuting those who chanced to differ from it in belief just as most of the sister colonies were doing.

Cotton Mather.

But there were one or two notable exceptions; Roger Williams proclaimed religious freedom to all who might settle within the jurisdiction of his colony at Providence; and, later, the Catholic colony of Maryland passed the "toleration act," guaranteeing religious freedom to settlers

within her borders. Here, then, were planted the germs of modern freedom and toleration. As soon as this idea was accepted as a wise and correct principle of government, America was found to be uncommonly fertile soil for fostering the growth of true freedom; for, as we have said, almost every colony, from Plymouth to Georgia, was the champion of some feature of freedom. Moreover, in addition to the cravings for religious freedom among the colonists, there was the desire for political freedom, since each colony, being left much to itself, was often forced to supply its own form of government. In this way, independent and representative governments were rising in popularity, and they soon became a colonial necessity as well as convenience. Virginia, as well as New England, longed for a purely representative government. Such was the material out of which our American republic was constructed. The colonial wars drew different colonies together, and taught them to forget their minor differences in the interest of their common welfare.

Now, if we can gain an idea of the social condition of the colonies at the time of their rebellion against England, we will be better able to study the progress of our country from its birth to the present time. First we must remember that the settled portion of this country in 1776 comprised a strip of territory along the Atlantic coast little more than two hundred miles in breadth. Large portions of this territory were still a wilderness.[1] There were only a few towns in Maine. New York was a frontier state, and Schenectady a frontier town open to the attacks of savages. Although the persecutions of the French king had driven thousands of the industrious inhabitants of the Palatinate to settle in Eastern Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh was still only

[1] Lawrence in "First Century of the Republic," New York, 1876, p. 18.

a military post on the frontier. Nearly all the population of Pennsylvania was gathered around Philadelphia.

"Woods, mountains, and morasses filled up that fair region where now the immense wealth of coal and iron has produced the Birmingham of America." Virginia and the Carolinas were the most populous and the most influential of the American colonies. Pioneers from these colonies had even penetrated to Kentucky and Tennessee.

Washington On The Hudson.

But Virginia was really, in many places, a wilderness, and all beyond was called the "Wilderness." It was customary then as now for energetic people to build up large estates by purchasing thousands of acres of wild land. We often hear of Jefferson's immense plantation. His wife is said to have brought him forty thousand acres of land. Washington, at his death, owned seventy thousand acres of wild land located in the various states and territories.[1] But

[1] Adams: "Johns Hopkins University Studies," Vol. III. p. 74.

before the Revolution, Lord Fairfax, Washington's early patron, possessed an estate in Virginia of over five million acres. Upon this estate, were two fine mansions—one, Belvoir, upon the Potomac, and the other, Greenway Court, upon the Shenandoah. The loyalty of the old nobleman to his king, however, resulted in this estate being confiscated and divided into smaller plantations.[1]

We see, then, that the colonists had not yet conquered the wilderness even in the old thirteen colonial districts; but, similar to our newer states of to-day, there was a great store of energy, culture, and enlightenment concentrated there for the development of the resources of the Atlantic region. The Southern colonies were regarded as the most fortunate regions in colonial times. Here were the large plantations worked by slave labor.[2] Here the English merchant and manufacturer came for his cargoes of tobacco, rice, and cotton. Here were the wealth and luxuries of Old England, and much greater freedom. The wealthy planter boasted of his hospitality. He knew not how to labor. His numerous slaves were earning for him wealth and luxury. He need have no care, he lived in ease and spent the fruits of the labor of his slaves in entertaining friends and strangers. To such an extent was this mode of life carried, that President Jefferson died in the midst of financial ruin brought about by his hospitality.[3]

But there is another side to this picture. Of course, all the white inhabitants of Virginia could not own large and flourishing plantations. There were only a few small planters, the remainder were very poor. In early colonial

[1] Lawrence, Op. cit. p. 21.

[2] The lady who became Jefferson's wife owned one hundred and thirty-five slaves.—American Cyclopedia.

[3] Morse: "Thomas Jefferson," Boston, 1884, pp. 331-2.

mes, some of them were even slaves, for England had
rly made the borders of Virginia a convict colony. Vir-
nia was not the mother of colleges as she was of presidents.
he wealthy planter could either employ his own teacher
educate his children, or send them abroad. The poor
re left basely ignorant. Sixty-five years after the found-
g of Jamestown, Governor Berkely boasted that they
d neither printing-presses, colleges, nor schools, and
ayed that there might be none for at least a hundred
ars.[1] However, in less than one-third of that time,
illiam and Mary College was chartered by the sovereigns
England. But, through all this time, ignorance and
e were the reigning features of social life among the
or in Virginia. And it clung to them, until, in the days
our Civil War, to belong to the "poor white trash" was
more degrading than to be a slave.

Then further, as every planter had his gang of slave-
orers, he could see little or no need for improved tools or
machinery of any kind. In fact, they had to import
manufactured articles, for they had no skilled mechanics.
stead of a tool that would perform the work of many
n, the planter preferred to own many slaves to do the
ne work. One slave could pick the seed out of a pound
otton in a day's time. The planter bought more slaves
the demand for cotton increased. It was a New England
nius that invented a machine able to do the work of
ndreds of slaves every day. The planter was enriched
ordingly. But down to the close of slavery days, the
uthern planters were content to plod along with anti-
ated machinery and antiquated ideas.

The case was fortunately different with the Northern
lonies. Slave-labor was really unprofitable in the more

[1] Lawrence, Op. cit. p. 20.

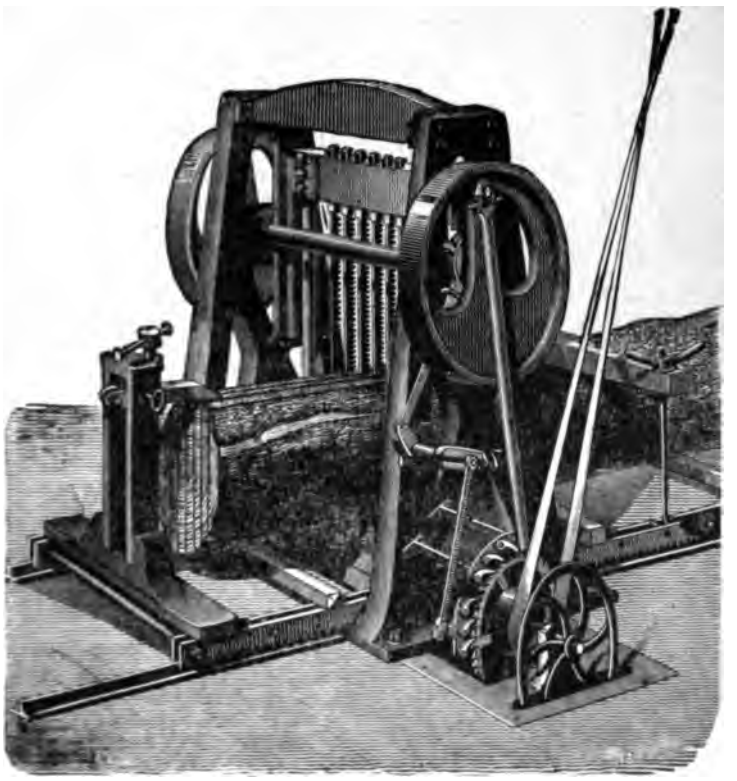
northern regions. They had no products like tobacco, rice, or cotton, which were in demand in all European markets. Then further, they believed that every man should have employment. We find them, from the first, industrious above all things else. Nearly every home in New England is said to have had its carding machine and hand-loom. The Continental soldiers, even, were dressed principally in hunting-shirts and home-spun clothes. But from the first it became necessary for the colonists in New England to manufacture more than enough articles for their own consumption. There were necessary imports that they were obliged to have, and these could be purchased only from the mother-country.

Only a few seasons had passed after the landing of the Pilgrims, before they became alarmed at their loneliness and the possibility that no more ships might return to them from England with supplies. It was, therefore, deemed expedient for the colonies to own their ships. Thus, the occupation of ship-building sprang up. This was preceded, however, by the manufacture of lumber, not only for the building of ships, but for exportation as well. To such an extent had the occupation of ship-building grown, that surveyors were appointed to inspect vessels in 1676, one hundred years before the Revolution. Boston alone had built five hundred and fifty vessels. In 1731, Massachusetts employed six hundred vessels for her commerce,[1] "in addition to over one thousand sail, and from five thousand to six thousand men employed in the fisheries."

Efforts were early made to force the Virginians to turn their attention to manufacturing rather than to agriculture, but with no success. The slight encouragement

[1] Wells in "First Century, etc.," pp. 151-2.

that the home government gave the New Englander was sufficient to induce him to turn his whole energies in that direction. Within twenty years of the landing of the first colonists, saw-mills were busily converting the forests of what is now New Hampshire into lumber. Water-mills were in common use, and grist-mills had been introduced. The printing-press was even then supplying the readers of Massachusetts with a portion of their literature.



The Gang Saw.

One industry after another was added to the occupations of the New Englanders. Connecticut encouraged the manufacture of cotton-woolen cloth. The manufacture of paper was introduced; and, just before Revolutionary

times, there were forty paper mills in the northern provinces. The smelting of iron-ore for the English market was one of the first colonial industries, and this led, also, to the manufacture of "engines for mills to go by water." Still the manufacture of cotton-woolen, linen, and silken fabrics long continued a household industry. Enough, however, was made to establish quite a trade with the West Indies.

Now England had encouraged her colonies, at first, to engage in manufacturing. But, early in the eighteenth century, manufacturing in America became so general that English merchants became alarmed at the falling off of colonial imports. The latter now had their own vessels, made many articles for their own use, and had quite a trade with the West Indies. Alarming reports were frequently reaching the English board of trade. One reported that the colonists were making two-thirds of the articles of their own consumption, especially the coarse sorts of linens and woolens. Another complained of "the very considerable manufacture of kerseys, linsey-woolseys, flannels, buttons, etc., by which the importations of these provinces have been decreased fifty thousand pounds per annum."[1]

This was enough to alarm the British, who regarded the colonies in the light of an investment, and valued them in accordance with the returns. Then came the "Navigation Act," that restricted colonial commerce and ruined American ship-building. One act after another followed, forbidding the manufacture of the most profitable lines of goods. The exportation of hats and felts was prohibited; the colonists were forbidden to erect slitting-mills. To such an extent was this restriction carried that the

[1] Wells, Op. cit. p. 165.

colonists complained that they had to import the very nails with which they shod their horses. Then, too, colonial governors were expected to report from time to time the condition of American manufactures. And upon such reports, new restrictions were enacted. It was not by one or two oppressive acts that the colonists were forced into rebellion, but it was a long series of measures, tending to reduce them to literal serfdom, that led to the rebellion.

A board of trade was appointed to control colonial manufactures. The exportation of manufactured articles to foreign markets was prohibited. But the British government was unable to accomplish its ends. In one way or another, the colonies circumvented them. The governor of Puritan New Hampshire reported no manufactures. Some governors refused to make reports, others made long reports, evading the essential point of the extent of manufactures. Shipping, though under the ban of the law, was continued. John Hancock, the great patriot, thus became a contraband trader; "and, with John Adams as counsel, was on trial before the admiralty court in Boston, at the exact hour of the shedding of blood at Lexington, to answer half a million dollars' penalties alleged to have been by him incurred as a smuggler."[1] The colonists had become a nation of lawbreakers, but we, with our modern ideas of individual freedom, cannot censure them for thus claiming the natural rights of mankind.

Even under all these embarrassments, it is refreshing to view the picture of these industrious colonists. The cultured New England clergymen and lawyers from the halls of Oxford and Cambridge could not sit quietly and allow new generations to grow up in ignorance. Schools and colleges were among the first institutions established.

[1] Wells, in "First Century, etc.," p. 158.

The establishment of a college was proposed within six years of the first settlement of Boston. This school eventually grew into Harvard College. Every father of a family in Massachusetts and Connecticut was obliged to see that his children were taught to read and write. And it is even intimated "that the people in New England, in the seventeenth century, were better educated than those of any European nation."[1] Nor was this spirit permitted to lag in the next three-quarters of a century; for our country produced Franklin, who astonished the European world as a scientist and a diplomat of the rarest ability; such was his renown that "Voltaire from his Swiss retreat, or in the assemblies of Paris, rejoiced over 'Franklin's republic.'" Jonathan Edwards, who died twenty years before we became a nation, was one of the brightest intellects that the world had seen. Of the generation of revolutionists, educated in this country, Washington, Hamilton, Jay, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Hancock, and a host of others had a world-wide reputation, not merely as rebels, but as men of ability and learning, fearless in time of great trial.

In the Northern Colonies, the humbler classes were not despised as in the South. Large estates were the exceptions in the North.[2] Agriculture was the employment of the many. Small farms were well cultivated. Corn and wheat were grown in abundance. "Pennsylvania was the granary of the nation." "Long Island was the garden of America." Abundant harvests filled the barns with grain. Every family, among the Dutch and Huguenot settlers of the Hudson valley, was busy from morn till night—the male portion with the out-door labor,

[1] Lawrence, Op. cit. p. 280.

[2] Except, perhaps, in New York.

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the female with the card and loom. Industry and economy brought thrift and, in a measure, opulence.

"On Sunday, labor ceased, the church-bell tolled in

Thomas Jefferson.

the distance, a happy calm settled upon the rural region, and the farmer and his family, in their neatest dress, rode or walked to the village church. The farming class,

usually intelligent and rational, formed in the Northern Colonies the sure reliance of freedom; and when the invasion came, the Hessians were driven out of New Jersey and Burgoyne was captured by the resolution of the people rather than by the timid generalship of Gates."[1] All honor to our English forefathers, but we must bear in mind that Americans, in Revolutionary times, as in our own days, were a happy mixture of the best blood and sinew of many nationalities, in which the Teutonic element has kept the ascendency, and furnished the language. Yet it is significant to note that John Jay, Laurens, Boudinot (presidents of the Continental Congress), Faneuil, Marion, and many others were of Huguenot descent.[2]

Of course, the Revolutionary War put an end, for the time being, to all prosperity. The colonists were thrown upon their own resources, after their commerce and manufactures had been greatly impaired or literally destroyed. But the restricting hand of the oppressor had been removed, and the energy of the new nation was free to expand in every direction. That inventive genius, for which the Americans have a world-wide reputation, began at once to manifest itself. Within a decade of years after peace was established, there were cotton mills erected; the Arkwright system of spinning was introduced; and, in 1793, Eli Whitney invented his cotton-gin. The new system of spinning had created a demand for cheaper cotton. The cotton-gin had rendered the growing of cotton a profitable occupation, and gave the manufacturer a cheap raw material. The planters of the South found a market for all the cotton that they could raise, and prosperity returned to the land.

Just as we found in our study of European culture that every great achievement was the result of many steps

[1] Lawrence, Op. cit. p. 23. [2] Hurst, in "First Century, etc.," p. 474.

progress, so we shall find that our nation, beginning
e at the close of the eighteenth century, began to build
structure in every branch of culture upon the founda-
n of the Old World. Therefore, to start with, we find
terprising spirits, in the very infancy of the new nation,
porting the most improved styles of machinery, and
rning from immigrants the most recent methods of
nufacturing. American invention always took a prac-
al turn. After Whitney's gin, the first steps seem to
ve been in the direction of improving agricultural im-
ements. A cast-iron plow with a mold board, land-slide,
d point all in one piece was made in New Jersey, in
97. Thomas Jefferson, even, studied the problem of
taining the most desirable shape for the mold board.[1]

One hundred years ago, the scythe was the harvesting
achine, with which the fields of ripened grain were cut.
reaper, patented by McCormick of Virginia, drew the
edal at the world's fair in London. At a competitive trial
ar Paris, in 1855, the American machine cut an acre of
ts in twenty-two minutes, just one-third the length of
ne that it took an English machine (the nearest competi-
) to do the same work. Since then, the harvester has
en steadily improved until, by doing its own binding, it
s almost done away with mere manual labor. The hand-
il was the only threshing machine when the Treaty of
ris made this country a nation. The modern threshing-
chine is a Scotch invention; but American genius has
atly improved it, and the American thresher in many
pects excels the foreign machine. The steam thresher
our western grain fields is only one of the labor-saving
chines that make the lot of the farmer much more easy
n heretofore. One need only compare the old wooden

[1] Knight, in "First Century," p. 45.

plow with the modern steam plow; the old sickle with modern self-binder; the old hand-flail with the mod steam thresher, in order to realize the difference betw the colonial farmer and the modern agriculturist. In l vesting and threshing alone, the labor of one mai equivalent to that of many in former times,[1] and g allowance must be made for the saving of seed-grain the improved methods of planting.

As soon as possible after American independence, Watt engine was introduced into the manufacturing tricts of our country. At that time, a number of pers in various parts of the world were busy experimen with steam as a motive power in propelling vessels. ' experiments continued during the twenty years remain of the eighteenth century. In 1807, our countryn Robert Fulton, launched upon the Hudson River, the f really successful steamboat. His boat was named "' Clermont." It was of one hundred and sixty tons bur and made regular trips during the season from New Y to Albany. In 1818, Watt engines were made in N York. Steamboats with home-made engines were then r ning upon the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. The r year, "The Savannah," the first steamboat to cross Atlantic, made a voyage from America to a numbe European ports. Thus American enterprise opened a era in ocean navigation, and the distance between the continents has eventually been reduced from a three we to less than a seven-days' journey.

It would be impossible for us to give a concise his of American inventive genius. That our countrymen famous for their skill in this line is illustrated by the that over twenty-four thousand patents were issue

[1] Towle: "Nation in a Nutshell," p. 115.

887, only about fifteen hundred of which were foreign.[1] till it is in our province to note that Americans claim credit, ı addition to those already mentioned, for "the carding ondenser, the improved ax and ax helve, the cut-nail, in, type-casting, reaping and sewing machines, the elec- ic telegraph, vulcanized rubber, the friction-match, the eam fire-engine, revolving fire-arms, and the street rail- ay." Of the greatest mechanical inventions and discov- ies, America can boast "more than all continental urope."[2] Going slightly more into detail, it is interesting review a few of the achievements of our countrymen in ıe mechanical line. The first mill that combined all the ocesses for converting raw cotton into cloth was erected Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1813. To Hall of Massa- usetts belongs the credit of making the first breech-load- g fire-arm, while Colt improved upon this and also intro- ced the method of making the various parts alike in dimensions, so that they will fit any individual gun. ıe Gatling and Taylor guns, the former of which can scharge four hundred shots per minute, are both Ameri- ı inventions, far superior to those of any other country. ıe United States are now the fire-arm manufacturers many foreign countries.

The principle of "assembling" has also been applied the manufacture of watches, sewing-machines, and chinery of all kinds. But in the manufacture of tches, the plan of gathering all the operations under one f is decidedly an American system.[3] The parts are all de by machinery, and their number reduced more than r-fifths. The Waltham works alone can turn out

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1 American Almanac, 1888.
2 Hittell: "Brief History of Culture," pp. 306-7.
3 Knight: "First Century," pp. 77-8.

eighty thousand watches per annum. The steam fire-engine, as a success, comes from Cincinnati, where the first successful ones were manufactured. Now, nearly all the large cities of the world have them. So, too the fire-alarm telegraph is an American system. The first one was put up in Boston, in 1852.

Ericsson.

The Westinghouse air-brake is another happy application of American inventive genius to practical use. Any person, now thirty-five years of age, can remember when the railway train was stopped by the tedious process of

applying the hand-brake to the car wheel. The brakeman was then a necessity with every car. By the use of compressed air the Westinghouse brake has been known to stop a train running at the rate of thirty miles per hour, upon a grade of ninety-six feet per mile, within a distance of four hundred and twenty feet. Another invention of great importance in facilitating commerce is the platform balance invented by Fairbanks of Vermont. The manufacture of this brand of scales alone reaches fifty thousand annually, and they are shipped to all portions of the globe.

Franklin's Printing Machine.

Not only is the present process of type-casting an American invention, but so is that of electrotyping from wood-cuts. In the manufacture of printing-presses, the Americans have done their share. The Hoe Machine was for a number of years the fastest printer in use. It is an improvement of the Hoe, known as the Walter press, that prints both the London and the New York Times. It has reached the astonishing rapidity of thirty thousand complete papers per hour.[2] Of much greater ingenuity is Paige's type-setting machine, that "receives a column of

[1] Op. cit. p. 166.

[2] Vide Wilson: "Typographic Printing Machines and Machine Printing,' p. 154; also "Annual Cyclopædia, 1881, p. 548.

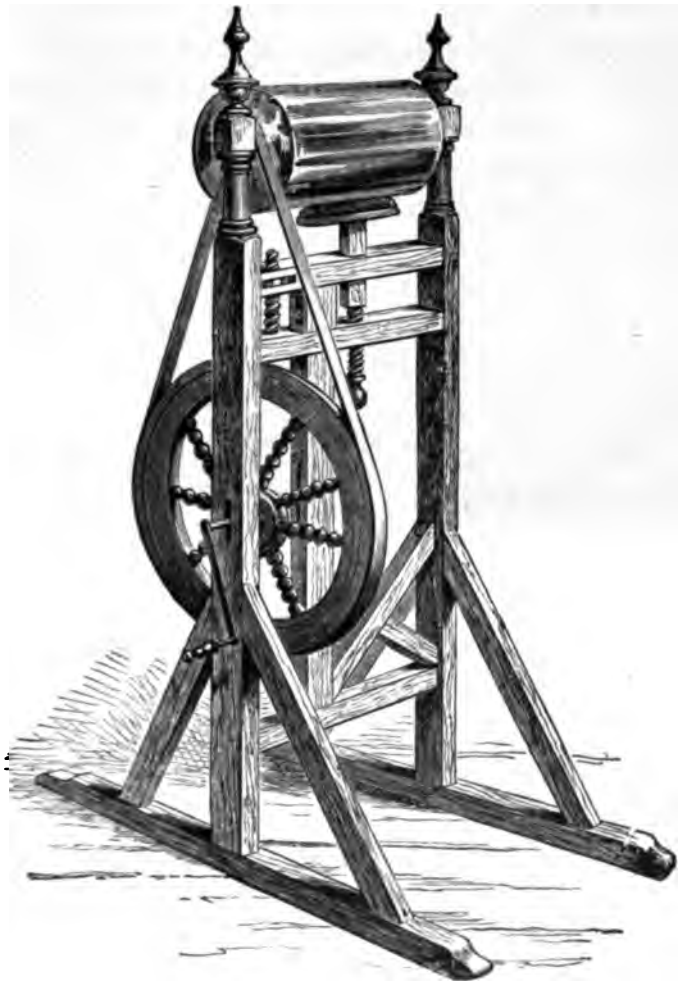
'dead matter' from the press, distributes it automatically, and sets it up anew at the rate of three thousand five hundred ems per hour, including setting, justifying, and distributing, which is five times the work of the unaided hand." The automaton throws out every defective and turned type.

That Americans are not deficient in the skill and nicety of their workmanship is shown by a single example, that is the manufacture of telescopes. Alvin Clark, recently of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has had few rivals and no superiors in this field. His objectives were eagerly sought in Europe, and the height of perfection was supposed to have been reached when he completed for the Russian government a telescope with a thirty-inch objective. This instrument possessed a magnifying power of two thousand diameters, and is capable of increasing the surface of the object viewed two and a-half million times its natural size.[1] Still, since his death,[2] his sons have completed a thirty-six-inch objective for the Lick Observatory, California. In delicacy of construction, however, nothing has yet excelled the mechanism of Rutherford's instrument for measuring the positions and distances of heavenly bodies in making photographic maps of different groups of stars. Finally, he reached a "delicacy which leaves nothing to be desired."[3]

In the field of electricity, we can boast of some of the greatest geniuses that the world has seen since Franklin drew the lightning from the clouds. We have already mentioned the electric fire-alarm system as an American one. Of course, to claim for our countrymen the honor of inventing the telegraph, would be the height of presumption; but to claim that the Morse system of telegraphy is

[1] "Annual Cyclopædia," 1887. [2] August 19th, 1887.
[3] Barnard, in "First Century, etc.," pp. 302-3.

more practical than any competing system that has yet been devised, is our privilege. Still, people were not satisfied with the telegraph even then. If a way could be devised for sending two or more messages over the same line,



Franklin's Electrical Machine.

at the same time, in the same or opposite directions, it was believed that the busy, hungry world would settle down contented with the extent of human attainment in the

rapid transmission of messages to distant parts. And this was at last accomplished by one of our countrymen, a Mr. Stearns, whose duplex system was even introduced into England. This system has been further perfected, until several messages can now be sent over the same line at the same time.

But, having reached this point, the human mind was not satisfied, and other inventions have been added to those already rendering such practical service. By an invention of Mr. W. E. Sawyer, a method of telegraphy has been introduced by which a fac-simile reproduction of a letter written at one end of a line may be obtained at the other. The letter appears traced in blue dotted lines upon white paper. The United States Postal Telegraph uses this system; so, also, does the Signal Service to transmit by telegraph its weather maps.[1] And only within the last few months,[2] we have heard of the formation of the Telautograph Company, which proposes to introduce a system of telegraphy, in which a person writing at one end of the line has his message instantaneously reproduced in fac-simile at the other end. Mr. Thomas A. Edison, whose name occurs again and again in connection with the study of electricity in this country, has, seemingly, reached the height of the telegrapher's art, for he has proved the practicability of transmitting and receiving messages from a railway train moving at the rate of sixty miles per hour.[3]

Americans can also claim the invention of the telephone, for which about equal credit is due both Gray of Chicago and Bell of Massachusetts.[4] Edison's name, also,

[1] "American Cyclopædia." [2] July, 1888.

[3] Vide "Whittaker's Almanack," 1888; also "Scientific American," February 20th, 1886; October 15th, 1887. [4] La Cour, of Copenhagen, was, about the same time, experimenting in the same line.

is connected with the perfection of the telephone, and especially during the past few months. Under his direction, experiments are making in hopes of constructing a sea-telephone, and some degree of success has rewarded his labors. "If he succeeds in finding a practical and reliable means of transmitting any kind of intelligible signal through the water between two vessels several miles apart, a principal cause of disaster on the ocean will have been removed. . . . Vessels would keep their telephone warning going as well as their whistles, and, while the latter only sounded a general alarm, the telephone would give the exact compass course of the direction whence each ship was advancing, and this, too, in time to prevent a meeting."[1] Thus we see the tendency of invention is to benefit mankind by saving life as well as producing wealth, ease, and comfort.

Thomas Edison.

Mr. Edison has recently almost perfected another of his great inventions, which he calls the phonograph. In fact, the success of this invention is almost assured. The phonograph is a machine intended to transmit to a waxen cylinder the impressions of the sound-waves of the human voice. One of these instruments, placed in a lecture-room, may thus record the mechanical impress of the speech of an orator upon this cylinder, holding

[1] "Scientific American," March 26th, 1887.

the words, tones, and modulations of the voice within its inanimate folds, perhaps to travel thousands of miles, and repeat its good tidings to many another audience on its way; for a phonogram, it is said, "will last indefinitely, and may be repeated a thousand times if necessary."[1] It is only necessary to reverse the cylinder and set the clock-work going, when the speech will be repeated, word for word. It is claimed that the whole of Nicholas Nickleby might be recorded upon four cylinders, eight inches long and four inches in diameter.[2] What a blessing it would be to the blind and the sick, who might listen to the soothing voice of a reader, perhaps far away. In practical use, the phonograph promises to supply the place of the amanuensis and of the stenographer, entering into every field of work.

Electricity is coming into use as a motor-power, and our large cities are showing their appreciation of a good invention by adopting it at once. The cable-car is an American invention, first used upon the street railroads of San Francisco.[3] But the electric railway is rapidly succeeding even it. Though coming to us from a foreign land, it has received many suggestions from American genius. Electric welding, however, is the invention of Professor Elihu Thompson, of Lynn, Massachusetts.[4] By this process, iron, brass, steel, and copper, are quickly, safely, and cheaply welded, without the accompanying noise, dirt, and cinders of the forge. The practical incan-

[1] "Whittaker's Almanack," 1888, p. 538.

[2] Scientific American, December 31st, 1887.

[3] We must, of course, be understood to mean the cable railway as a practical success, for like everything else it is but a growth from ruder and more impracticable inventions.

[4] The same process is announced almost simultaneously by Russian scientists; vide "Scientific American," November 26th, 1887; also December 17th, 1887.

descent electric-light is the result of Mr. Edison's experimenting, and it is rapidly supplanting other modes of lighting. In connection with the manufacture of electricity for lighting purposes, a new industry has sprung up in America that promises to greatly benefit the smaller manufacturers. The machinery used for furnishing light at night is employed as a motive power during the day. Small motors of one or more horse-powers are either owned or rented in various parts of a city and are furnished with electricity from the central manufactory. Some companies own as many as two thousand small motors, and sell from twenty-five hundred to four thousand horse-powers of electricity per day. One horse-power costs the consumer about one hundred dollars per year. Thus small printing-offices and small manufactories are furnished with motive power that will enable them to compete with larger companies.[1]

S. F. B. Morse.

Nor are our countrymen behind in the vaster enterprises in mechanics and engineering. Could Cheops, who built the Great Pyramid, visit New York harbor, and note the ease with which a huge floating derrick grapples and lifts a block of stone weighing one hundred tons, and watch it glide over the water carrying its great burden as

[1] "Scientific American," August 27th, 1887.

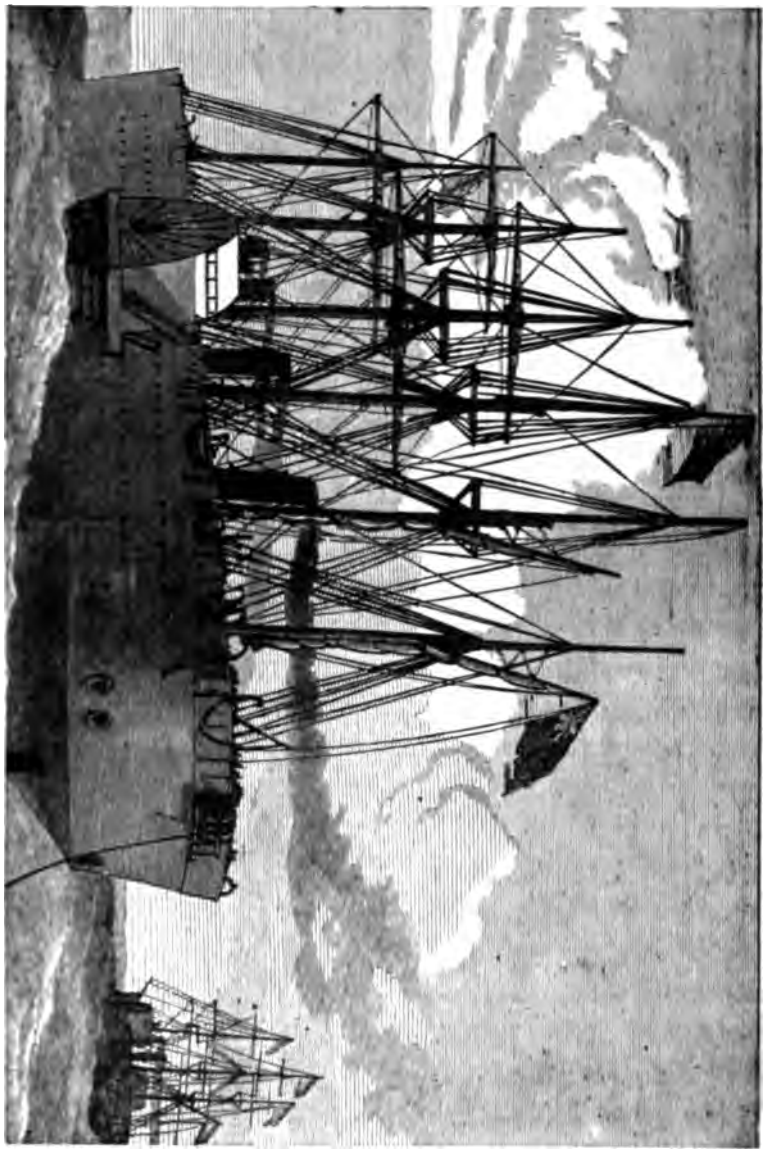
easily as a child might a pebble, lowering it to its position in the river wall, he might naturally bewail the twenty years' time and the brute force of thousands of his subjects required in his day to erect his imposing monument. Such a work as that would be an ordinary undertaking to the modern engineer. Nowadays, when our great engineer, Captain Eads,[1] undertakes to extend the mouth of the Mississippi out into the Gulf, he builds his wall with massive blocks of concrete stone weighing two hundred and sixty-five tons, which stand like adamant before the encroaching waves of the sea. The building of a pyramid would be as child's play in comparison to such work as this.[2]

Captain Eads was the engineer who erected the great steel arch bridge at St. Louis across the Mississippi. But, in bridges, the Brooklyn suspension bridge is a greater feat of engineering skill. Its enormous piers and immense span are the astonishment of the world. When the enterprise was first proposed, the Old World mocked the credulity of those who believed that the work could be done. The length of the bridge is about a mile and one eighth. The suspended structure is nearly thirty-five hundred feet long, and weighs about six thousand, five hundred tons. The cantilever bridge across the Niagara is a model of engineering skill by which a new principle in mechanics has been utilized. Although the principle was condemned by foreign engineers, the success of the bridge at Niagara has led to the adoption of this method in the construction of the Forth railway bridge at Queen's Ferry, in Scotland Thus we see how American engineers are beginning to lead the world in the practice of their profession.

[1] Died March 8th, 1887.

[2] "Annual Cyclopædia," 1887, p. 229.

We do not claim for America the invention of the able telegraph, for there were a number of short lines in



Laying the Atlantic Cable.

operation in Europe before any were laid in this country. But it was the daring business enterprise of Cyrus W.

Field that first projected and then constructed the Atlantic cable. It was a number of years, even then, before any other country dared lay a competing line. Now there are several lines across the Atlantic, and lines in various directions across the Pacific. And to-day the earth is girded and bound together by the electric telegraph wire. In comparison with other countries, the United States have more than three-fourths as many miles of railroad as all the rest of the world combined. In telegraph lines, our country has one hundred and seventy thousand miles, nearly twice as many as Russia, and four and a-half times as many as Great Britain. In 1887, there were seventy million messages sent over United States lines; forty millions, over British lines; and ten millions, over Russian lines.

After this brief survey of the inventive genius of our countrymen, we can justly claim that, during the period that we have been a nation among nations, we have had only one competitor in this field, and that is Great Britain. If, finally, we were to point out three mechanical contrivances upon which the most extraordinary versatility of invention has been expended, we would instance the harvester, the breech-loading fire-arm, and the sewing-machine; each of these has thousands of patents, and each is a growth of the last fifty years.[1] We must now turn to view the progress in manufacturing in our country since the Revolution.

Almost as soon as the smoke of the Revolutionary cannon had raised from over our land and floated off into space, opening to the sunshine of peace a new and independent country, a rich growth of manufactures sprang up. Our forefathers did not make the mistake of medieval times in refusing all outside aid, but sought at once to

[1] Knight: "First Century," pp. 99.

introduce the latest methods of manufacture together with the most recent models in machinery. England did not propose to give up her experience of ages, and, therefore, forbade emigrants to America taking with them models of any of her machinery. But in 1789, a young Englishman, Samuel Slater, arrived in this country with models and plans of the Arkwright series of machines for the manufacture of cotton and woolen cloth. He did not run the risk of drafting his plans upon paper, but carried them in his mind. As soon as he reached Providence, he set to work and made the machinery with his own hands. In a few years, mills with this improved machinery were springing up all over the Northern Colonies. While the South could raise the cotton, the North were pre-eminently the manufacturers.

Then followed Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin. Cotton was rendered the cheapest of raw materials for cloth manufacture, and the increase in its production and consumption has been most startling. The cotton crop in 1791 was estimated at two million pounds for the United States; in 1887 it was more than fourteen hundred times as great. Of the last enormous growth, over two hundred million dollars' worth of raw cotton and fifteen million dollars' worth of cotton manufactures were exported. More than two hundred and thirty thousand looms, and nearly eleven million spindles are continually run by one hundred and eighty thousand employes in our own country. Massachusetts alone does about three-sevenths of this work. In 1790, the total manufactures of this country were estimated at twenty million dollars. Comparing this with the amount of the cotton product alone during the last year as given above, we can realize the progress that has been made.

We cannot stop to go into detail in regard to the manufacturing interests of our country, for it would lead us at once into statistics that might be wearying to our readers. It would need a volume to enumerate the various branches of American manufacturing industry. The census of 1880 shows that the greatest amount of capital is employed in our iron and steel manufacturing.[1] Then follow cotton,[2] lumber,[3] flouring and grist-mill products,[4] and the manufacture of machinery.[5] Numerous other enterprises employ each their millions of capital, and show a growth during the past century corresponding to that of cotton manufacture.

In science, the United States have kept pace with the world. Readiest of all people to adopt new and daring ideas, the scientists of our land have developed theories that, though discovered and ignored by Old World scientists, have been found of the utmost value to mankind. This we shall find to be especially the case in medicine and surgery. In the first place, the interest in science is national. This is manifested in the number of scientific enterprises that our government has from time to time assisted. Among these, we may mention the Wilkes expedition, sent out[6] upon a four years' voyage to explore the Southern Seas. Then there was the Lynch Dead Sea expedition that, under the sanction of our government, surveyed the Jordan and vicinity in 1848.

The expedition of the "Polaris" and the later Greely expedition belong to the more recent annals of American science. The United States Coast and Lake Surveys are really great scientific expeditions, adding volume after volume to our scientific libraries. So, too, are the various

[1] 250.9 millions of dollars. [2] 219.5 millions. [3] 181.1 millions.
[4] 177.7 millions. [5] 154.5 millions. [6] In 1838.

geological surveys under the state and general governments. Reports of these surveys contain such valuable charts and descriptions of the animal, mineral, and vegetable kingdoms as to render them almost priceless. Although the government is very generous in publishing a reasonably large edition of these reports, it often happens that they become so rare as to bring almost fabulous prices in our markets.

Of all the institutions of our country, the Smithsonian Institution is the one most literally devoted to science. Its founder was an Englishman who had never visited America. Still, the Institution is managed largely by a Senate committee. The income from its endowment fund is expended in the encouragement and advancement of original research. In this field, there has been produced a series of valuable publications under the title of "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge." These are eagerly sought by those who are interested in the branches of science of which they treat. Then, too, this Institution has its agents and correspondents scattered over the entire civilized world. By this means, a system of exchanges has been introduced whereby scientific specimens may be rapidly and safely exchanged with all countries.

In the scientific line, Harvard College distinguished itself by calling from the mountain-bound lakes of Switzerland the naturalist, Agassiz, whose fame is world-wide. It was here that he spent the maturer years of his life, and it was in American waters that he sought the specimens to illustrate his Harvard lectures. In private enterprise, tending toward the advancement of science and discovery, the world can furnish none more praiseworthy than that of our Mr. Bennett in sending Stanley to search for the lost Livingstone. As Stanley was also an

American, his success is gratifying to his countrymen.

In mathematics, Nathaniel Bowditch was the first among Americans to attract attention abroad. His great work was a commentary upon Laplace's "Mecanique Celeste." Professor Pierce, of Harvard University, ranks next. Then we have numerous other names of which we may well be proud. Such are Strong, Fisher, Olney, and others; but to mention their particular specialties would render our present work far too technical. Astronomy is intimately connected with mathematics, or dependent upon it, so that a prominent astronomer is often as well known in the field of mathematics. Not to go into detail, however, we can claim the most powerful telescope that has yet been made. It has already been mentioned as the work of Alvin Clark's Sons.

In discoveries, the Messrs. Bond, of Cambridge, first saw the eighth satellite of Saturn. Next, Mr. Alvin G. Clark won the Lalande medal of the Academy of Sciences, France, by making known to the world that the star, Sirius is a double star. The world acknowledges its debt to a number of our astronomers for the discovery of comets and asteroids. Of the latter, Watson has the credit for finding sixteen, and Peters, twenty-two. The honor of discovering the satellites of Mars belongs to Professor Asaph Hall, of the United States Naval Observatory, who first saw them in August, 1877. There are two of these satellites, called Phobos and Deimos, the diameters of which are estimated at seven and six miles respectively. In practical astronomy, "the automatic registration of time observations by means of electro-magnetism" is an improvement due to the ingenuity of Professor Locke of Cincinnati. A printing chronograph, which records to the hundredths of a second, is the invention of Professor

Hough of Dudley Observatory. The electro-magnetic method of recording transits has been introduced into the observatories of the Old World from the United States, and is known as the American system.

Benjamin Franklin.

Rutherford's photographic system for the study of astronomy and his delicate instruments have already been mentioned. Dr. Henry Draper, however, ranks without

a superior in the construction of instruments and in his skill in their use. He enlarged and greatly improved the specula for reflecting telescopes. His largest telescope is of twenty-eight inches aperture. In the literature of astronomy, the same names occur over and over again, connected with all the vital questions of that science. The annals of no country can show a brighter array of astronomers than ours. A history of astronomy would be incomplete without the names of Walker, Newcomb, Stockwell, Pierce, Alexander, W. C. and G. P. Bond, Loomis, Hunt, Langley, Draper, Watson, and many other American devotees to that branch of science.

The electric telegraph has rendered the study of meteorology of great practical value in the United States. Dr. Franklin had been one of the first observers of atmospheric changes, but the system of calculating the courses of storms and various atmospheric phenomena, and thereby foretelling the condition of the weather all over our land, originated with Professor Abbe, of Cincinnati, in 1869.[1] The practical value of the weather maps from the Signal Office is illustrated in the care with which the signals are observed by our most enterprising business men. The farmer can save his crops by watching the weather maps at harvest time. The vessels upon our lakes are warned of approaching storms, and the weaker ones can seek safety in the nearest harbors. This in itself is of great value to lake commerce, especially during the early and late parts of the season.

The experiments of Professor Henry in acoustics, as well as in other branches of science, have been of great aid to the mariner in the introduction of an improved system of fog-signals. He also gave the effect of the condition of

[1] Barnard, in "First Century, etc.," p. 316.

the atmosp re upon the steam-whistle a scientific study, deducing principles that have been of great use in navigation. In light, the work of Mr. J. W. Draper needs more than a passing notice, for it is claimed that he gave a full discussion and a correct explanation of the dark lines in the solar spectrum some fourteen years before the German, Kirchoff, who has received all the credit for this discovery, notwithstanding the great publicity that had been given Draper's discoveries.[1]

So, too, in the natural sciences, the names of Americans rank side by side with those of inhabitants of the old countries of Europe. Associations were formed to encourage the study of the natural sciences in the very infancy of our country, and they have kept rank with the institutions of other lands. In botany, Professor Asa Gray stands foremost. In zoology, Agassiz, Baird, Audubon; in paleontology, Marsh; in geology, Dana,—all stand at the head of their departments, but we can not go into details regarding their work.

The progress of medical science is very gratifying, and bespeaks the presence in our country of the genuine American characteristic of grasping everything that is new, if it seems practicable. Still, in all this application of new ideas in the practice of medicine and surgery, American physicians have exercised an originality that has insured a much greater degree of success. The department of medical literature shows a steady advance since colonial times. The colonists boasted of about twenty-eight home publications. Since then medical journals have been introduced, and have rapidly multiplied; some of them have become standards of literature. Although medical authors, like all other authors, have had to com-

[1] Barnard, Op. cit. pp. 319-320.

pete with cheaply manufactured reproductions of English works, it is gratifying to note that "the majority of the works, recognized by medical schools and the profession as text books in the different departments of medical education, are by American authors."[1]

The importance of sanitary knowledge and science is fully recognized. Every community has its board of health, and it is now believed that proper care in this line will ward off the fatal effects of nearly every epidemic disease. When Jenner made his discovery of vaccination, the Royal Society of London refused to publish his paper for fear that such a startling and improbable theory would injure his reputation as a scientist. The next year,[2] while English physicians were fighting this method of preventing disease, Professor Waterhouse, of Boston, sent for some of this virus, and used it in his own family. Three years later, an institution was established in New York City for the purpose of vaccinating the poor gratuitously. In order to appreciate the importance of this preventive to disease, it has been estimated that there are half a million fewer deaths every year from small-pox, the world over, than would have occurred ninety years ago among the same number of inhabitants.[3]

Two other examples of the readiness of American physicians to adopt foreign discoveries may be given; viz., auscultation and the use of the thermometer. The former of these is the process of detecting a diseased condition of certain organs, say the lungs and the heart, by listening at the chest. It is a French discovery, but it met with ridicule in both France and England. This process was, however, quickly introduced into the American system of

[1] Flint, in "First Century, etc." p. 418.
[2] In 1799. [3] Flint, Op. cit. p. 426.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

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practice. So, too, in the case of the thermometer. It was at once introduced, and is now employed as a delicate instrument for determining the nature of many diseases.

Ovariotomy was performed for the first time by Dr. McDowell, of Kentucky, and is therefore an example of the daring skill of the American surgeon. When the first cases were reported in England, one of the leading English medical journals not only expressed its doubt that the operation had been performed, but expressed a belief that it never would be. About a year later, the editor of the same journal says: "A back settlement of America —Kentucky—has beaten the mother country, nay, Europe itself, with all the boasted surgeons thereof, in the fearful and formidable operation of gastrotomy with extraction of diseased ovaries. . . There were circumstances in the narratives of some of the first three cases, that raised misgivings in our minds, for which uncharitableness we ask pardon of God and of Dr. McDowell, of Danville."[1] Several hundred cases are now reported annually, and a majority of them are successful.

The ligature of the larger arteries in treating aneurism and hemorrhages was first practiced in America by Dr. John Hunter, and this "opened up a new field in practical surgery, rendering possible operations and cures that were formerly considered impracticable." The "crowning event in the history of American medical and sanitary progress," during the past half-century, was the application of anæsthetics in surgery. There are many persons living who can remember when long and painful surgical operations were performed without the use of either chloroform or ether. It was a season of continued pain for the patient, often for hours. It was often necessary to bind the sufferer

[1] "Medico-Chirurgical Review." London, Oct., 1826, p. 620.

to a table in order to keep him from cringing under the surgeon's lancet, and thus endangering life. The use of ether was introduced in Boston in 1846, and twelve thousand cases had been operated upon before any serious accident occurred.[1] Since then the application of anæsthetics in surgery has quenched the pain of many a soldier while his

Harvard College.

shattered limbs were being removed; and, by removing from woman's unfortunate lot the sharp and deadening pangs, it has lightened with the sunshine of painless joy the appearance of new life in our homes. Surely mankind is doubly grateful for such wonderful blessings as these.

[1] Barnard, Op. cit. pp. 319-320.

Though American physicians and surgeons have taken any minor steps in advance that ought to be recorded in history of medicine, we must hasten to other fields of lture more appropriate to our present chapter. In the neral plan of education, there has been an almost steady ogress since the close of the Revolution. At the present ne, New York expends upon her public schools more ney annually than any state in the Union, but the mirable system of education that that state enjoys has en a slow and steady growth. As we have seen, the lonial settlers along the Hudson brought over, with their lustrial habits, their school-masters and their churches. ill, education in New York was confined to the village ool until long after our independence. As early as 95, however, Governor Clinton began to agitate the estion of reform in education. In fact, he is represented the real founder of our present common school system education. Under his advice, fifty thousand dollars re appropriated by the New York legislature for the ablishment of schools in the towns and counties of the te.

As a result of Governor Clinton's work, more than rteen hundred schools were established within three ars. But the burden of taxation was too great for the te, and the schools were not given the support necessary make them flourish. Soon, however, Jedediah Peck of ego and Adam Comstock of Saratoga became interested educational matters. In the course of a decade or so at commencement of this century, these men threw their nbined energy in favor of the school system for the ication of the poorer classes of people. In 1813, Gideon wley became superintendent of the schools of New York, l under his guidance and care, the system grew and

prospered. Nine years later, the secretary of state was given control of the schools. There were then more than seven thousand common schools in the state.

But another step in advance was soon to follow. The idea of "free and public education for all classes of people" began to be openly advocated, and it is this idea that has come to be acknowledged as the true object of our educational system. It has been proved that in proportion to the care that has been taken to educate all classes in our country, anarchy, lawlessness, and crime have diminished. DeWitt Clinton was a great champion of this popular education. "He urged the founding of schools for teachers, the extension of the course of study, the creation of school libraries, the increase of teachers' salaries, careful inspection, the higher education of women. None of those improvements that have since been adopted seem to have escaped his notice."[1] These ideas have ever since gone forward and they constitute the basis of our present educational system and the safeguard of our popular, representative government. In addition to her common schools, New York now has twenty-two collegiate institutions.

We may take New York as a fair instance of the course of progress in educational matters in all of the Northern Colonies outside of New England. Progress did not follow step by step in the exact line, but similar ends have been attained. New England, as we have seen, had her colleges and renowned educators even in colonial times. There has been no retrogression, but as other states have moved constantly forward, the New England states have moved onward at the crest of the great wave of progress. Harvard and Yale colleges are among the best that our land can boast in its present prosperous state. The South,

[1] Lawrence in "First Century," p. 284.

s we have seen, did not encourage education, and there gnorance and slavery reigned until blotted out by the Civil War.

Among the most earnest and effective workers for popular education, was Horace Mann[1] of Massachusetts, who is entitled to more credit for his native state's suprem-

Yale College.

cy in educational matters than any other one man. Born in a poor and humble station in life, he gained his arly education amidst the most discouraging difficulties. He prepared for college[2] in six months and ever after uffered from the effects of over study. For twelve years,

[1] 1776-1859. [2] Brown University.

he was secretary of the State Board of Education, and during that time, may be said to have created the school system of Massachusetts. In later life, he became president of Antioch College (Ohio) which was at that time poor and in debt. His struggles here for the advancement of higher education were almost superhuman, but in the end they were successful.[1] The life of Horace Mann has been repeated in the lives of innumerable other educators who have made our country what it is. Nearly every college in our land has passed through its season of poverty, and only such men as Horace Mann, J. M. Gregory, and a host of other pioneers in education really know the sacrifices necessary to establish a new college.

The school system established in New England and New York has spread to every corner of the United States. It is even permeating the South, since the Civil War, and is doing its share to help build up that portion of our country that was but recently the battlefield of a divided nation. But if we glance for a moment over the newer portions of our country, we will find them dotted over with veritable "cottages and palaces" of education. The school house is usually found among the finest buildings in every little town; surrounded by a neatly trimmed lawn, shaded by the shapely maple and the symmetrical pine, supplied with maps, charts, and laboratories to illustrate every course of study. The modern school-house is the one building in every community, in which every citizen has an interest. And finest among all of these, as if to form a beautiful dome to the great educational structure of the whole land, is the magnificant school building, near the summit of the "Rockies," at Denver City.

When we turn to American literature, we find that

[1] Underwood: "American Authors," p. 172.

riters, past and present, during the century of Amer-
ndependence, have produced a literature that will
re favorably with that of any other English-speaking
during a like period of time. Though we have had
akespeare (and what other nation than his own has?)
period in English literature can boast a group of

George Peabody.

more rare than those who stirred the world with
songs when the cause of humanity demanded noble
ions? The poetry of Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier,
nd, and other American poets of that school, appears
red by any of the indecencies with which the older

English authors abound. In fact, for purity of thought and language, there can not be found a cluster of writers more eminent or more worthy of praise than the American authors of the century just past.

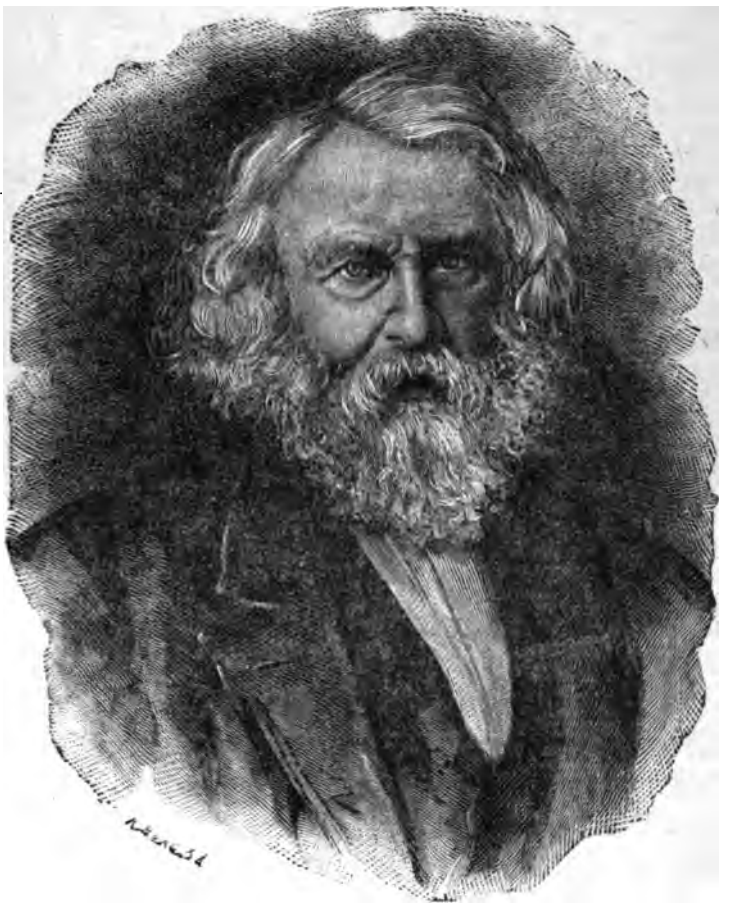
As in other fields of life, during those stirring times, so, in the field of literature, do we find the name of Benjamin Franklin among the first of our countrymen to gain renown. Franklin was born in Boston,[1] and so is an American in every sense of the word. His was a romantic life when he was working his way up as a poor printer. In his "Autobiography," he tells us, in language beautiful for its simplicity and purity, of his first arrival in Philadelphia, and his walk up the street with a roll of bread under each arm and eating a third. This was his first meal in that city. Since then the "Sayings of Poor Richard" have found their way over the whole world.

Jonathan Edwards was the great divine of the colonial period, and he has a world-wide reputation as a theologian. But we are more interested in the literary men of post-Revolutionary times. Among these, Thomas Jefferson was the great letter writer. A letter, in those days, was much more than the hurried sentence or two in these days of postal-cards, fast mails, and cheap postage. The receipt of a letter was an event to be remembered in most family circles. Jefferson was for years at the head of a great political party, and he maintained his authority by his skill in writing letters. He is said to have never made a "set speech."[2] In opposition to Jefferson, there were associated three names—Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. They were the authors of "the political classic of the United States," the "Federalist." Hamilton wrote nearly three-fourths of all the articles published in the

1 1706. 2 Underwood, Op. cit. p. 15.

Federalist, and has left a literary reputation second only to that of Franklin.

The Revolutionary period of American history was not without its singers, the most prominent of whom were John Trumbull and Joel Barlow. The former's poem,



H. W. Longfellow.

"McFingal," is modeled after the style of Butler's "Hudibras," and, in fact, the two are so near alike that passages from one are often attributed to the other. The humor and "grotesque rhymes" of McFingal did their

share to cheer the patriots of '76 in their discouraging struggle with England. Joel Barlow was a chaplain during the war, and afterwards spent some years in Europe. His greatest poem is entitled "The Columbiad."

We cannot give space to many of the foremost men of those early times. Such were John Adams, Timothy Dwight, Fisher Ames, J. Q. Adams, Josiah Quincy, William Wirt, and others. They all played prominent parts and have left enviable reputations among the writers of their day. But we must pass on to a later generation, who, born about the time of our independence, took up the burdens of life as the Revolutionary heroes were about to lay them down. The names of Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Channing, and Story, follow in the course of a history of literature. Clay was born in Virginia, Webster in New Hampshire, and Calhoun in South Carolina. All three were in the prime of life when the great questions, that finally resulted in a great war, were before the American people for discussion. For many years the halls of Congress resounded with the fiery eloquence of these three men, and the English language can furnish no passages that will surpass the living thoughts and expressions of these great orators. Calhoun was the advocate of "State Rights;" Webster raised his voice for "Liberty and Union;" while Clay pleaded for "Compromise."

Channing was distinguished rather as a pulpit orator, and was the founder of the Unitarian Church. While his greatest efforts were made from the pulpit, he has left a number of critiques on Napoleon, Milton, etc., whose appearance is said to have "marked a new era in American letters." About this time, William Allston wrote his "Sylphs of the Seasons," and other poems that show the natural refinement of one of America's most talented

artists. At last, we come to one name great among our purely literary characters.

Washington Irving was born in New York, in 1783. That city did not then cover its present area, and it contained only a few thousand inhabitants,[1] so that Irving had not far to go in search of adventures. As opportunity offered, he visited the Dutch settlers along the Hudson, and thus became intimately acquainted with the superstitions and legends of those simple people. All this is embodied in his "Knickerbocker's History of New York" and other stories of this region. His short stories are remarkable for their simple beauty of style. In biography, he leads American authors. His Lives of Columbus and of Washington have furnished the facts for a score of works on the same topics. But none of the copyists can equal the original articles. Irving is bound to live as an author until early American literature becomes antiquated

Washington Irving.

[1] 20,000 in 1790.

and hard to read. Even then it will be sought by the real student of literature for its beauty and merit.

James Fenimore Cooper was born five years after Irving. He created a new field of American literature—that of fiction. Before his time, the only novelist of note was Brown, who is never read in our day. After two or three uneventful years at Yale, Cooper entered the navy as a common sailor, but in time rose to the position of lieutenant. Thus we see the origin of his first novels—"The Pilot" and "The Red Rover." His best novel is "The Spy." Cooper is known to every school-boy in America, and his novels have had a wide foreign circulation. His fame, however, is marred by the troubles of his later life, and these may be learned from any biographical sketch.

Passing rapidly over many brilliant writers, we come to a generation with whom we are all acquainted, because they have scarcely yet passed off the stage of active life. William Cullen Bryant appears first among these writers, and few of Nature's poets have equalled his beautiful and earnest songs. "Thanatopsis" appeared first and the world at once recognized the fact that America had a poet of no mean genius. His songs of nature breathe out the secret communion of his soul with the world around him, and Bryant's world was covered by an American sky and surrounded by a pure American atmosphere. Foreign laurels came to him unsought.

It was not many years after the appearance of Bryant, that Longfellow, Whittier, and Holmes came before the world as literary lights of the highest order. Longfellow has, perhaps, written more poetry than any other American. Of his writings it may truly be said, that they are "linked sweetness long drawn out." As compared with his Eng-

lish contemporaries, we may safely affirm that wherever there is found a copy of Tennyson's poetry, we need not look in vain for a copy of Longfellow. The latter's poetry, however, is founded upon American life and history. His "Hiawatha," "Evangeline," and "Miles Standish" illustrate the loyalty of the poet to his native country; while his poems on slavery show his love for humanity.

Of Whittier, we can not speak too highly. What simplicity! What purity! What love for down-trodden humanity! Then, when we read his "Barefoot Boy," and his "Snow Bound," those simple rural pictures rise before our vision as if painted upon canvas by the most gifted artist. And when he took up the cause of the oppressed and down-trodden, his pen proved far weightier than the sword, and millions almost worship the man who spent his best days in order to deliver them from bondage.

Holmes was different from any author of his time. He was decidedly original,[1] and manifested his originality in all of his works. In poetry, he did not manifest the depth of Bryant nor the beauty of Longfellow, but his patriotic poems, such as "Union and Liberty" and "Old Ironsides" are known by heart from one end of the land to the other. The Autocrat, Professor, and Poet at the Breakfast Table are three series of very strong essays, and have made a name for Holmes as a writer of prose.

The poets just mentioned were followed by two others of nearly equal renown. These were Lowell and Holland. James Russell Lowell was born in Massachusetts in 1819. He bears the distinction of having been "doubly doctored by the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge."[2] He may be ranked among our most eminent satirical writers.

[1] Underwood: "American Authors," p. 314.
[2] Whipple, in "First Century," p. 375.

His satire is embodied in a series of articles called "The Bigelow Papers," and clothed in the Yankee dialect. But he is also eminent as a critic, an essayist, and a poet. Holland never reached such distinction as did Lowell. He has, however, written more that may be found in the homes of the mass of the American people. His poems, "Bitter Sweet" and "Katrina" are read with interest by all. His didactic essays, such as "Titcomb Letters," "Lessons in Life," "Plain Talk on Familiar Subjects," etc., have done much to educate the American people. His novels, and especially "Arthur Bonnicastle," are very popular.

There are many minor poets whom we can not mention here, but we must say a few words about one or two more of our orators. Rufus Choate came into prominence as an orator. He succeeded Daniel Webster in the United States Senate. While Choate had a gifted mind and great power as an orator, he used such long and complicated sentences that they are unwieldly in the hands of the ordinary reader. Thus were his orations marred in the eyes of critics. We must not forget to mention the name of Charles Sumner who, at a later date, was our greatest political orator. It has been said that his speeches, taken in order, might almost form a history of the anti-slavery movement in its connection with national politics.[1] His oratory never failed to move his audience, although it is hard work to read some of his speeches.

As a pulpit orator of the greatest distinction, Henry Ward Beecher rises far above his contemporaries. He was the educated son of educated parents. His eloquence called him to one of the best pulpits of our land, and people flocked to his church to hear his wonderful words. When foreign powers were upon the point of turning

[1] Underwood, Op. cit. p. 361.

against our government, it was the eloquence of Beecher that kept them from siding with a lost cause. Beecher never lost control over his congregation at Brooklyn; and, whenever he appeared in any part of the land, he was greeted by a larger audience than any other man could draw.

Let us glance at later American fiction. Our chapter would be incomplete without the names of Hawthorne, Wallace, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Louise M. Alcott, and Howells. Still these writers are too well known to need much mention. Hawthorne's works are standing the test of time and should be read by all. Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is a classic among English classics. In addition to its vast influence in our own country, we may say that, translated into the language of Brazil, it proved a powerful agent in bringing about the recent abolition of slavery there. Miss Alcott is our most popular writer for young readers. Howells has his patrons and they are numerous. But, of all recent works in American fiction, "Ben Hur," by Wallace, has been received with the greatest amount of popular favor. Its sale has been enormous, and its merits seem to assure it a living place in American literature.

In the field of history, we can mention a number of great writers whose works need cause no blush of shame when compared with the historical works of our English cousins. Prescott will always have a reputation, based upon the literary merits of his works; but in the delineation of early American culture, it is now conceded that he drew his information from very unreliable sources.[1] George Bancroft is, perhaps, the greatest of American historians. His "History of the United States" is an

[1] See This Series, Vol. I. p. 676.

authority upon the subject. Motley's "Dutch Republic" won him a place by the side of the best English historians. Hildreth and a number others rank, perhaps, lower than those already mentioned. But it is in J. W. Draper that

Horace Greeley.

we find the philosophical historian of our country. His "Intellectual Development of Europe" will rank side by side with any work of that character that has yet appeared in the English language.

We have thus far confined ourselves to America as it

was less than half a century ago. Forty years ago even, the world at large knew nothing of our country west of the Alleghany Mountains. It is said that Sir Robert Peel, in 1846, predicted in Parliament that two towns in the interior of America would in time "rival Odessa and Dantzic in the grain market of the world, and he mentioned Chicago and Milwaukee." Some one inquiring what he called them, was told that that they were "some Indian places." Ten years earlier, even the good people of Hartford, Connecticut, thought of Chicago only as a western town situated "in a great swamp back of Lake Michigan." In 1838, that city exported forty-four sacks of wheat, in 1880, more than thirty-five and a half million bushels.[1]

Six years after the close of the Revolution, the first settlers began to penetrate the Ohio Valley, and settle along the Ohio river. Soon after the beginning of this century, Ohio, having a population of sixty thousand, became a state. At the last census, the center of population of the United States was within a few miles of Cincinnati Forty-five years ago, upon the Iowa side of the Mississippi, there was a line of settlements, perhaps fifteen miles wide These settlements included about eighty towns. Now Iowa has about seventeen hundred post-offices. So that we can readily see that the greater portion of our land has been developed within the past half-century.

Were we to ask what the great civilizer of America has been, the answer would be the railroad. The first railway train reached Chicago in 1853, and the number of farms in Illinois have increased from about forty-six thousand to more than a quarter of a million. There really was no inducement to draw the immense harvest from the rich, prairie soil of Illinois until the yield could be mar-

[1] Barrows: "United States of Yesterday and of To-morrow," pp. 87-8.

keted at a fair profit to the producer. This could be done only when the railway penetrated the West to gather up this produce. Then land suddenly increased in value threefold, and grain and grazing produce more than doubled in price. Thus were settlers brought into the Mississippi region.

Thirty years ago, it took wagons from thirty-five to sixty days to move freight from the Missouri to Denver.

Scene in the Rocky Mountains.

Great trains of wagons with their tired beasts and sunburned drivers lined the route across the plains, often falling by the way, in their endeavor to reach the summit of the "Rockies." But all that has changed. Now the wagon route has given place to the railway line, and all along these lines are planted beautiful villages. Thriving

farmers and graziers are located in the vicinity of these towns, and the rich soil is made to yield its quota of produce for the world at large.

When the Union Pacific railroad was run across the country; California had already become filled with a population gathered from every quarter of the globe. Now it never had occurred to our Revolutionary statesmen that our government at Washington could hold possessions on the far Pacific coast. The distance was too great in those days. It was like Rome trying to rule Britain and other far away provinces; she had finally to let them fall away. But the Pacific railways, with their accompanying telegraphs, have changed all this. Distance has thus been shortened, so that San Francisco is now not more days journey distant from Washington, than was Boston formerly and communication is instantaneous.

It is well, perhaps, for us to fully understand the extent of the region thus opened up to civilization and joined by bands of iron with the East. Now this "West is characterized by largeness. Mountains, rivers, railways, ranches, herds, crops, business transactions, ideas; even men's virtues and vices are cyclopean".[1] California, if on the Atlantic coast, would cover a strip of land two hundred and eighty miles wide and extending from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina. "Of the twenty-two states and territories west of the Mississippi only three are as small as all New England."[2] Montana would stretch from New York City to Cincinnati. Dakota might be placed so as to extend from Chicago to Chattanooga or from Cincinnati to Washington City. So we might continue to compare and every new comparison would tend to belittle the original colonies as compared with the present extent of

[1] Strong: "Our Country," p. 15. [2] Ibid. p. 16.

our country. We will give only one more comparison and then proceed to other features of our subject.

Daniel Webster confessed before the Senate in 1838 that he knew but little of the Southwest.[1] It is only

Daniel Webster.

a few years since the first railroad was run from the Mississippi to the vast plains and pasture lands of Texas, but

[1] Barrows; "U. S. of Yesterday," etc. p. 348.

ıat an immense territory that opened up. Take the "Lone ar State" and place it upon the face of Europe, with its ad resting on the mountains of Norway, one palm would etch far to the east and cover Warsaw, the other would ade London, while the state "would stretch itself down ross the kingdom of Denmark, across the empires of rmany and Austria, across Northern Italy, and lave feet in the Mediterranean."[1] Or if the head of Texas re placed at Chicago, the foot would penetrate the ters of the Gulf of Mexico, and the outstretched arms uld extend from the longitude of Washington to that St Louis. Still Texas in only a small part of this Great est.

All that portion of the United States east of the cky Mountains is now covered by a net-work of rail- ıds, so that the produce of any section may be marketed the shortest possible time. Distance has been so sened that even the fruit and vegetable farmer may raise produce in Iowa and market it in Boston, and California it commands a better price in the New York market ın the native fruits. The railroad furnishes good mar- ts for all the produce of the country. Hence it draws ırly two billion bushels of corn from the soil every year. wheat, we furnish nearly half a billion bushels annually. live-stock, our farmers own more than fifteen hundred llion dollars' worth.

Then the railroads make the natural products of the ıd of great value. For, those portions that are only fit mining or for quarrying are opened up to the workman. .e vast beds of coal in the most mountainous portions of country are so connected with our markets as to make ir working valuable. And our supply of coal is almost

1 Strong, Op. cit. p. 16.

inexhaustible. "Excepting Minnesota, coal has been found in every state and territory west of the Mississippi." "Iron-ore is to-day mined in twenty-three of our states." Lead is found in all the western states and territories, except three. Sulphur is abundant throughout the country. The supply of salt and timber can barely be estimated. "Nevada has borax enough to supply mankind." Texas has gypsum "enough to supply the universe for centuries." Some portions of the West contain enormous quantities of tin.[1]

Then, again, the railroad was the great agent in bringing a population into the Great West. In 1846, the Mormons could reach the "Promised Land" only by the weary journey over the mountains with wagon and beast of burden. Twenty-three years later, the Union Pacific railroad was completed. In 1840, Chicago had less than five thousand population, and San Francisco about five hundred. Now, the former has more than half a million and the latter nearly a quarter of a million. Denver, to-day, is as large as Brooklyn was in 1840; Omaha is larger than Boston in 1830; Santa Fe is larger than Jersey City in 1850; Kansas City is larger than Albany in 1850. The number of inhabitants to the square mile in Illinois, in 1880, was greater than that in any of the original thirteen states except Rhode Island, in 1790. That of Texas, comparing the same respective dates, is greater than that of Georgia or Maine.[2]

Now, we must inquire where this population came from, and the state of culture in this vast region. This we can only do by glancing at here and there an indication of the present state of affairs. If we will examine the tables

[1] As authority for these statistics, see Strong: "Our Country."

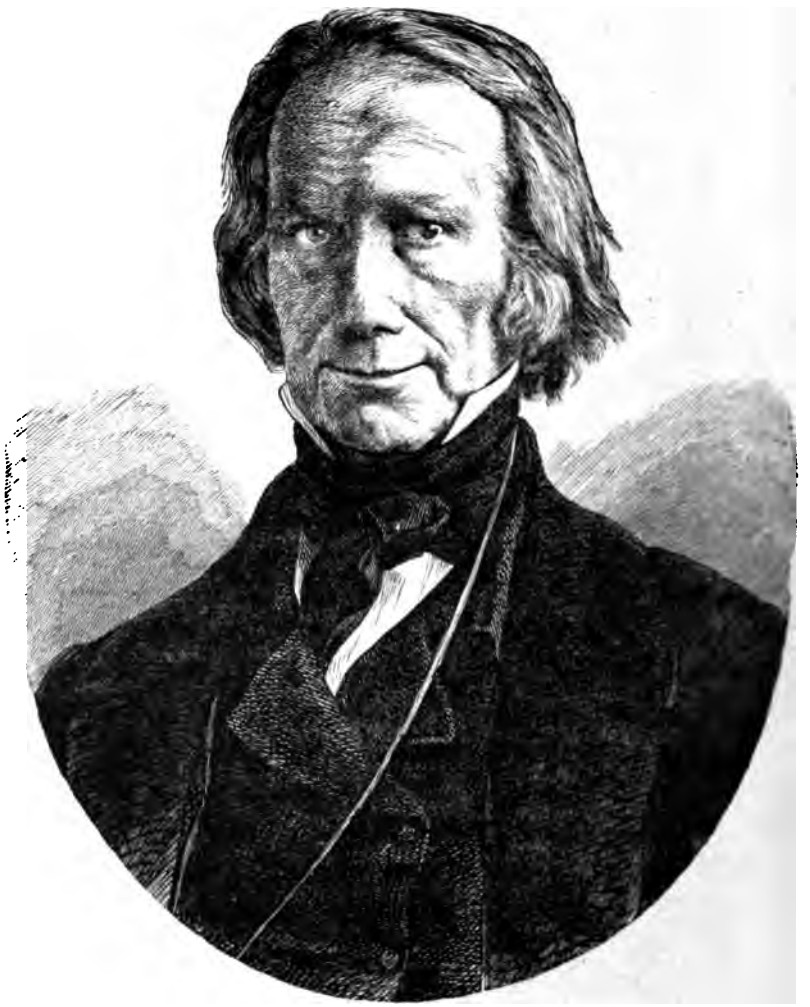
[2] Vide "American Almanac," 1888.

of statistics, we will ascertain that nearly half a million immigrants from foreign countries are coming to our shores every year. Still, this has not always been the case, for, during the past sixty-seven years, there have not fourteen million immigrants reached our country. Twelve millions of these are of European origin. This will, however, explain the wonderful increase of our population from census year to census year. These people are, many of them, seeking homes, and go at once to those sections where they can buy cheap land. This is especially true with the Teutonic element; but the Celtic, true to their racial characteristics, cling tenaciously to city life, and form a great share of the laboring population of the great cities. Two generations completely Americanize this foreign element, and its increase, added to that of the population already here, is furnishing us with this vast annual increase of population. It is this increase that is filling up the West. But we need not be alarmed, for there are still public lands open to settlement in nineteen states and eight territories.

Now, while the quiet, steady, and inoffensive portion of this population has been content to settle in the East where there are more luxuries and where the ebb and flow in the tide in every man's life are more quiet, the energetic, daring, venturesome spirits have pushed forward to conquer the newer portions of our land, and bring them under the control of civilization. The more ambitious offspring of the eastern resident longs to seek fortune and fame in the New West. So that we might say that it is the concentrated energy of the whole world that is developing our land, for it is a true indication of energy in an immigrant that he can leave friends and fatherland to find a home there.

These same pioneers have taken with them a taste for

literature, science, and art. The spirit of freedom and education seems to be inborn in the case of the sons of America. The land is filled with our best periodicals,



Henry Clay.

especially the monthlies. When we consider that New York alone circulates throughout the land nearly three million copies of these magazines every month, we realize how generally the inhabitants are educated to the standard

of, and have the ability to choose, good literature. It is not at all uncommon to find the latest numbers of our best periodicals upon the rough tables of the pioneer.

This, again, is manifested in the numbers of well-equipped libraries, that are already established in the western region. Ohio has nineteen public libraries, each containing more than ten thousand volumes, while the Cincinnati public library alone contains more than one hundred and forty thousand volumes. California has sixteen libraries which average more than thirty-four thousand volumes each. Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, and other western states have each a number of well-equipped libraries of more than ten thousand volumes each. In science, California takes such an interest that she owns the largest telescope in the world. Then, in art, every portion of the country west of the Alleghany Mountains is interested. Cincinnati is the center of culture in music and the other fine arts of this entire new region, while nearly every institution of learning, as well as the public schools, have each their special courses in these lines of culture.

If, then, we view the American population as a whole, we see a peculiar people arising on this Western Continent. Here, as nowhere else, are the various branches of the Aryan race mingling. There are but few external elements. Still, there seems to be a new race type forming here. A peculiar ethnical mixture assisted by a new environment, ust the conditions to evolve a new race type, are producing a people of new and marked features, different from any one of the European branches of the Aryan stock. The American people are, further, different in temperament, more energetic, more ingenious, and more volatile in disposition than the parent stocks.

Then, too, our literature is filled with Americanisms, and that indicates the formation of a new dialect. The English language proper is continually changing, and American authors have endeavored to court English laurels by trying to model their writing after English style and language. The time for this seems to be fast passing away. Americanisms seem to be finding their way into our literature as American idioms, and we seem to be fast approaching a time when we shall be acknowledged not only as a peculiar race of people, but our literature and culture will be peculiarly American also, and different from that of any other Teutonic speaking people.

King Philip's Arms.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

SCENE IN THE CATACOMBS.

CHAPTER VII.

PRE-CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS CULTURE.

INTRODUCTION—Alexander' Expedition—Rise of Alexandria—Serapis and Isis Worship—The Persian Supremacy—Literature of the Persian Period—Nature of the Messianic Hope—The Jewish Kabbalah—Dispersion of the Jews—Moral State of the World—Worship of Mithras—Hellenism—The Septuagint—The Grecian Period—The Grecian Party—The Hassidem Party—Literature of this Period—The Maccabean Period—Development in Belief Outside of Palestine—Alexandrian Philosophy—Philo and His Writings—Logos Doctrine—The Sadducees—The Pharisees—The Essenes—Literature of this Period—The Book of Enoch—Jewish Kabbalah—The Targums—State of the World—Birth of Jesus—John the Baptist—The Apostles—Possible Connection with Essenism—Peculiarity of the Teachings of Jesus—The Crucifixion—Conclusion.

IS the growing religion of the world. Its spread is co-extensive with that of Aryan civilization. If, then, we would understand the civilization of to-day, we must make a study of this religion. There are not wanting those who insist that modern culture is a product of Christianity. This statement is probably too strong. In fact, those who make it, on a second thought, are ready to admit that it is so, for Christianity is but one of the religions of the world, and further, religion is but one of the many factors, the product of which is civilization. Still the importance of our present inquiry is evident at a glance. A foundation for

this study has already been laid.[1] Yet a most difficult and delicate task is before us.

The astronomer in his most delicate calculations makes an allowance for "personal equations," that is an allowance for errors which he might have made. It would be well if this habit could be extended. We are all of us more or less swayed by prejudice, and even where we intend to be strictly impartial, we are often influenced by this "personal equation." It is almost impossible for a people of one nationality to form a just estimate of another people. The case is similar in almost every department of life. The standpoint from which we view an action or an article of belief or a custom makes a great difference in our judgment. We may well believe that this is the case in the field of religion as well.

The Christian world is not at all willing to accept the opinion of Mohammedan writers concerning Christianity. We are sure they cannot give an impartial judgment. Are we equally sure that Christian writers can give a fair and impartial account of Mohammedanism? Many such illustrations could be given, all tending to show the general fact, that the writer who sets forth to weigh and compare the various religions of the world, must be unusually careful, lest he be influenced by personal prejudice, even though he mean to be perfectly fair. In no other department of culture is it more necessary for a writer to weigh well his statements than when treating of religious culture.

It is a great thing to know the difficulties in our way. We have candidly stated the most formidable one, and now we propose to learn what we can of the origin of Christianity. We understand by Christianity that system of religious philosophy founded on the New Testament,

[1] This Series, Vol. II. ch. v.; Vol. III. ch. ix.

taken in connection with the Old. The Apostle Paul tells us that Christ appeared "when the fullness of time was come." We are justified, then, in concluding that the important movements of the first century, towards the end of which we detect the emergence of Christianity as a digested system of ritual and belief, were preceded by a long train of causes. Our present inquiry is what were these causes?

Inasmuch as we cannot separate the study of Christianity from religious culture in general, we must take our stand at some point of time preceding the first century, and watch the ever-advancing movement of religious culture, taking belief out of the mere territorial or tribal stage, freeing it from many superstitions, making it world-wide in its aims, until this fullness of time, mentioned by the apostle, had arrived. In following our statements, we will ask the reader to remember, that no two minds view things in quite the same light, that the duty of the historian is to state facts as he finds them, and leave to the theologian the task of building up theories.

When Alexander ascended the throne of Macedon, there commenced the public career of a man who was destined to exert a great influence on civilization for all time. At the head of thirty-five thousand Greek soldiers, he set out for the conquest of Asia. All are aware of his remarkable success. It may not be so well known that the great philosopher, Aristotle, was the tutor and friend of Alexander, and that the conqueror of the world was himself interested in scientific pursuits. It has been remarked of his expedition, that it was as much a scientific as a military one.[1] Under his directions, collections of plants and animals were sent to Aristotle for study. From Babylon, astronomical records running back many centuries

[1] Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe." p. 128.

were thus forwarded. The voyages of Nearchus down the Indus and in the Indian Ocean had other objects than a merely political one.

At the present day, we can scarcely overestimate the importance of this expedition in furthering the intellectual development of Greece, and, consequently, of all Europe. The Greek intellect was aroused to a high pitch. In this connection, it is evident, of course, that Greek philosophy, coming in contact with the philosophy of India, could not fail to be influenced by the same. We need not dilate further on the importance of this conquest. It is only necessary to remark that these results followed irrespective of the further fact that Alexander, in many respects, was a heartless despot given over to drunken debauches.

The death of Alexander occurred in the year 323 B.C. Then followed twenty years of confusion, wars, intrigues, and counter-intrigues, before any lasting peace. Interest now centers in the Greek empire in Egypt. This venerable country with its pyramids and sculptured relics of fully five thousand years, its mythical philosophy, its many trinities, passed under Greek control before the battle of Arbella decided the fate of the Persian Empire. In the division of Alexander's empire, it fell to the portion of Ptolemy, to which was added, at the close of the period in question (302 B.C.), Western Asia, excluding Asia Minor, but including Palestine.

The capital of this new empire was Alexandria. The site of the city had been selected by Alexander himself, who intended it for a great commercial city, to take the place of Tyre, which he had but recently destroyed with fire and sword. Here sprang up a most luxuriant city, and here were nurtured the sciences and philosophy that to this day continue to largely sway the intellectual world.

Let us first notice some of the ethnical elements in the pulation. There was, first of all, the inquisitive Greeks. r centuries, in their contracted home, they had been orizing and philosophizing. For some years, all the ources of the Orient had been thrown open to them, and ulden expansion of their intellectual horizon had taken ce. In matters of faith, as pointed out in a previous pter, the educated class were, at heart, pantheists, giv- their teachings in veiled mysteries, secretly despising mythology of the masses, and paving the way to its nfall by a good-natured tolerance of all forms of faith, ding all gods to be "equally fictitious and equally ueless."

A large element of the population were, of course, ive Egyptians, and these constituted the bulk of the zens of the Egyptian part of the empire. The Egyp- ns were a thoroughly superstitious people, implicitly ieving in witchcraft, magic—in short, not above the ge of savage philosophy in general. The priests held a rich and varied mythology, in which we see the ginning of a philosophical system, since every important trict in the country had cast their gods into a triad, resentative of the masculine and femine elements and ir offspring—father, mother, and son. For forty cent- es or more, the Egyptians had been familiar with the ceptions of a divine triad. There was hardly a city of note without its particular trinity. "Here it was nun, Maut, and Khonso; there Osiris, Isis, and Horus."[1]

Not mentioning for the present the Jews, let us notice ritual of worship at Alexandria. The Ptolemies, as if king an effort to fuse Egyptian religion with their losophical skepticism, introduced the worship of an

[1] Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 142.

Oriental god into Alexandria. This was the god Serapis. His statue and his cult are said to have been brought from Sinope, on the south of the Black Sea. This, however, was not his place of origin. He was none other than the Indian god, Yama, the god of death.[1] But the Ptolemies, in introducing him to his new home, gave expression to their pantheistic philosophy by making his image of plates of all metals skillfully joined together. He also represented the sun,[2] in other words, the masculine element in nature, quite in accordance with old Egyptian ideas.[3]

Worship of Serapis at Rome.

Alongside of the worship of the god, there was also worship of the goddess, Isis, the female principle in nature —the earthly.[4] She was the immaculate virgin-mother, and with her infant child, Horus, completed the trinity

[1] "Bible Folk-Lore," p. 321; King: "Gnostics," p. 165.
[2] King: "Gnostic Remains," p. 160.
[3] This Series, Vol. II. p. 523.
[4] Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 438.

worshiped at Alexandria.[1] There were no less than five grades of priests who conducted the public worship. Especially dear to Egyptians was the worship of Isis, the virgin-mother. There were gorgeous processions of beardless and tonsured priests, wearing a kind of alb, and in her ritual there were baptisms, confessions, bloody penances, prayers, hymns, incense and exortation. Her female devotees, pledged to a life of chastity, were styled *Nuns*, a Coptic word, which has been adopted by another cult. Worshipers in her temple were sprinkled with holy-water from the Nile. The statues of this virgin-mother with her child, Horus, in her arms, were held in great veneration.[2] Nor was the dead and risen Osiris of an earlier cult forgotten. Libations of wine, poured in a sacred receiving cup were in some way considered significantof this event.[3]

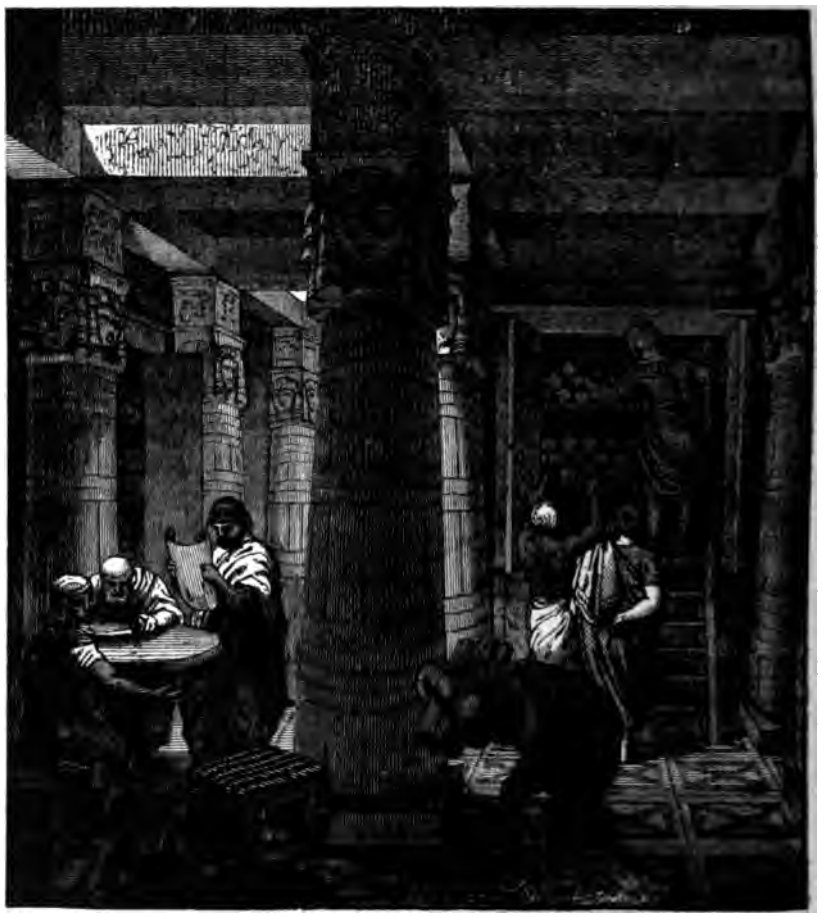
By way of digression, let us remark on the wide diffusion of this Alexandrian (Greek-Oriental-Egyptian) worship. When Egypt passed under the power of Rome, the worship of Serapis and Isis, but especially of the latter, the goddess virgin-mother and child, found a home and a friendly reception in Italy, and thence spread extensively throughout the Roman Empire. The lively Gauls embraced the new faith (which yet was old) with enthusiasm. And even one German chieftain was named Serapion.[4] Roman artists found a source of income in painting pictures of Isis, and sculpturers made statues of mother and child, which statues were afterwards adopted by the church as

1 Here notice how true it is that the laws of thought are everywhere the same. People, in the same stage of advance, come to the same conclusion. What is this triad but father-heaven, mother-earth, and their offspring, divine man?—the identical conclusion of the Hindoos and Oriental people generally.

2 "Bible Folk-Lore," pp. 322-3.

3 Ibid. p 353 4 King: "Gnostics," p. 164.

representatives of Christ and his virgin-mother.[1] In fact, so extensive was this diffusion that Origen, writing in the second century, held that all nations had borrowed religious rites and ceremonies from Egypt.



Alexandrian Library.

We must now notice the great intellectual activity in Alexandria. A state institution, afterwards known as the Museum, was founded. Philosophers from all parts of the world were urged to make Alexandria their home, where

[1] Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 430 *et seq.*

they were supported by the munificence of the king. Here was gathered together a famous library. It became the boast of antiquity. It is said to have contained over seven hundred thousand volumes. The knowledge sought was not simply theoretical. Botanical and zoological gardens admitted of study from nature. In the anatomical school, arrangements were made for the study of dissection. Every scientific instrument known to the ancient world was to be found in connection with this museum. Here was the birth-place of modern sciences.[1] Such was Alexandria in her palmy days; when she was the commercial, intellectual, and religious center of the world. We will now turn to consider the development of the Hebrew people at the time in question.

In the year 334 B.C., Palestine passed under the control of Alexander. It had been for two centuries under the dominion of Persia. That long period had been, on the whole, a peaceful one. As before remarked, the Jewish captives, who were permitted by Cyrus to return to Jerusalem, constituted an organized church. The church was the state; and the high-priest the executive officer. The fallen walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt, and once more the temple graced the summit of Mount Moriah. The Great Assembly convened by Ezra, known sometimes as the Great Synagogue, constituted the sacred college which jealously guarded all questions of faith, and became the official expounder of their sacred books.[2] We have suggested, that this sacred college was in some measure modelled after the College of the Magi at Babylon, of which Daniel was chief.[3]

1 Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 139 *et seq.*

2 On this question, consult Wise: "The Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 11; Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," ch. ix.; Stapfer: "Palestine In the Time of Christ," p. 90. This idea is modified in Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. V. p. 167.

3 This Series, Vol. III. p. 767.

The natural result of such a college would be the formation of two parties—the conservative and the more progressive. We will return to the point later. One principal duty of this assembly was the authentication of the Law and other sacred books. Whether they felt at liberty to make any changes in the Law we need not here discuss.[1] But as the standard of action became fixed, prophecy itself died away. We are not acquainted with the name of the last prophetical writer. He calls himself the messenger, Malachi.

The literature of the Medo-Persian period is one of great interest, and we detect in it the works of writers of these two schools of thought just mentioned. The chronicler represents the conservative school.[2] He glories in the past history of Israel, and feels the deepest honor for the Law, the priests, and the temples. His compilations are made with these objects in view.[3] He refers with evident approbation to the cruel legislation of Ezra in reference to mixed marriages,[4] because it tended to separate Israel from the surrounding people. He further copies Nehemiah's notes in this same connection.[5] Many such illustrations could be given; but this conclusion is so generally accepted by all scholars that it no longer needs proof.

But the mere fact that Nehemiah found the same difficulty to contend with that Ezra did, shows that there was one party in Israel that did not agree with Ezra in

[1] Cf. Wise, Op. cit. p. 13; and Kuenen, Op. cit. p. 6.

[2] His works are I. and II. Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, all of which are largely compilations. Ewald places the Chronicles at the very close of the Persian period ("History of Israel," Vol. I. p. 172) See also Kuenen, Vol. III. p. 74 *et seq.*

[3] Vide Wise: "The Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 40.

[4] Ezra, ix, x, and xi.

[5] Nehemiah xiii: 23.

this matter. And further, the Book of Ruth, probably dating from this period, was written in praise of a Gentile wife, who was even made one of the ancestors of David.[1] In many ways, this opposition to narrow views comes out. The Books of Jonah[2] and Job,[3] probably written during this period, both teach wider ideas as to God's providence than the Chronicler.

In one more direction, but that a most important one, we want to push this inquiry, that is the nature of the Messianic hope. Some Jewish writers declare that during the Persian period, "no Messiah was expected; no prince of the house of David was wanted."[4] If this statement be true, however, it would make the Jews an exception to almost all people of antiquity. The aborigines of this continent, no less than the inhabitants of the Orient, not only had traditions of some culture-hero in the past, but were hopefully dreaming of his return in the future, when a new age of happiness would begin for his faithful followers.

This belief shows various stages of growth. One is the looked-for return of some national hero. We know that when Cortez landed on the shores of Mexico, he was at first mistaken for their national hero, Quetzalcohuatl. And when Pizarro landed in Peru, they thought it the return of their great Inca. It is almost pathetic to read of the longing watch, still maintained in some of the pueblos of the West, for the return of Montezuma. To what a high stage of culture such a belief survives may be seen

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[1] The Book of Ruth is placed somewhat earlier by Ewald ("History of Israel," Vol. IV. p. 285), but cf. Wise, p. 36.

[2] Placed much earlier by Ewald, Op. cit. 128, cf. Wise, Op. cit. p. 36.

[3] Vide Ewald, IV. p. 199 *et seq.*; but compare This Series, Vol. III. p. 767, and Wise.

[4] Wise. Op. cit. p. 41.

in the yet lingering tradition that the great emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, is but sleeping the time away in some mountain cavern until he shall come forth to save his country.

Or the idea may be, not of the return of some hero of the past, but of the arising of some national hero of the future. However, such popular beliefs, under the influence of religion, are remolded. The hero who is to come, becomes a supernatural person. Such is the Buddhist conconception of the Bodhiwisat. The Hindoos look for the re-appearance, in a human form, of Vishnu, and the Persians were looking for the arrival of Soshyant, the "fiend smiter," he it is, who is to benefit the whole world. A descendant of Zoroaster, yet is he to be born by a miraculous conception from a pure maid.[1] The only question is what was the state of this belief among the Jews.

Some seventy-one passages in the Old Testament have been thought to make reference to a future Messiah. The majority of them seem to admit of a much easier and more simple explanation.[2] Some of these are to be found in the Pentateuch.[3] Some commentators think they can trace the gradual growth of the Messianic hope from the disruption of David's kingdom. It would certainly be but natural that, when in the days of weakness, they thought of the glories of David's reign, of his kingdom which they fondly hoped was to be of everlasting duration,[4] that they would dwell on the idea of a future restoration to that temporal grandeur and glory.

1 "Bible Folk-Lore," p. 162 and authorities there quoted.

2 Isaiah vii. 14, is a case in point. Any one taking the whole section in view, can at once see that it is not a prophecy referring to the birth of Christ.

3 Deut. xviii. 18, cf. Acts viii. 37; Gen. xlix. 10 (cf. Ewald, Vol. IV. p. 19, note ; Numbers xxiv. 17.

4 Cf. II. Sam. vii. 11-15.

One of the earliest conceptions seems to have been that David himself would return and redeem his country.[1] But from a very early time, the idea found expression that some descendant of David would be the one to restore Israel to all its past glories.[2] Whatever shape this hope might have assumed among the masses of the people, we notice the prophets early beginning to insist that the Messiah was to bring, not simply material good, but spiritual blessings as well. In short, the process early began of spiritualizing this concept. In the writings of Isaiah, though he clearly expresses the belief that the promised Messiah[3] was to be one of the descendants of David,[4] the writer eloquently explains that he is to be a perfect king in all his ways.[5] His contemporary, Micah, writing in the same spirit,[6] even restricts the place of birth of the future perfect king to Bethlehem, where David was born.[7]

Thus apparently stood this belief when the captivity occurred, subsequent to which the Jews were brought in direct contact with the Persians, and must inevitably have absorbed some of their traditions from Babylon proper, and even from distant India. Now we have briefly glanced at the influence of some of these traditions.[8] We need only

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[1] Hosea iii. 5, and later, Jeremiah xxx. 9. This would seem to be the simplest explanation of these words; however, the word, David, here may be simply a general expression. It is well known that the inhabitants of Palestine confidently looked for the return of Elijah (John i 21), in fact, the last book of the Old Testament shows the presence of the same belief (Malachi iv: 5). Elijah even then was a national hero—he was one whom the Jews "delighted in." (Malachi, iii, 1.) Cf. Ewald's note on this point.—"History of Israel," Vol. V. p. 178.

[2] I Kings, xi. 39.

[3] The word "Messiah," simply means the annointed one, hence the king. Cf I. Sam. xxvi. 11 etc. The high-priest was also annointed.

[4] Isaiah, xi. 1 and ix. 7. [5] Isaiah, xxxii and xi.

[6] Micah, iv. 1-1. [7] Micah, v. 2, cf. I. Sam. xvii. 12.

[8] This Series Vol. III. p.767 *et seq*. Only recently do we begin to catch

just refer to them now. Let us simply observe the clearing up of Jewish thought as to spiritual beings. We have seen them making references, from this time on, to various orders of angels and devils. Now is it not evident that any change in the conception of the Messiah would be in the direction of considering him to be a pre-existing angelic being? This seems to us to be the inevitable course of events. Possibly, in the writings of Ezekiel,[1] we see the trend of the current in that direction, or at a later date in Zechariah.[2] We shall see that, in the Grecian period, belief rapidly spread in this direction; hence we may reasonably look for its beginnings in the Persian period.

But it must have been solely confined to the more advanced and progressive party of thinkers. One more thought must be considered in this connection. We refer to the movement which gave rise, finally, to the Jewish Kabbalah. The Kabbalah may be defined as the esoteric Jewish doctrine. While it is generally stated that its composition is comparatively recent, yet there appear equally as strong evidence for supposing that though it was not placed in writing until about the time of the destruction of the second temple,[3] yet as tradition it had

sight of the true state of affairs in regard to the influence of the Babylonians on the Jews. This will not come out in its true strength until we have learned more of Assyriology. Vide Sayce: "Hibbert Lectures," 1887, p. 40.

[1] Ezek. ix. Notice the six men and the one clothed with linen, etc., who was commanded to mark the faithful. The number seven seems to refer to Ameshospands. The seventh one (the man clothed with linen) is the chief one; cf. x. 2, 6. Observe his important work in marking with a cross or tau the faithful. In Revelations, it will be observed that the sealing of the faithful is connected with the opening of the seals by the "Lamb," the "Lion of the Tribe of Judah," in other words, with the Messiah, Christ.

[2] Cf. the vision of the candle-stick, Zech. iv. with Rev. I. 13; also reflect that in several passages in Zechariah we apparently see traces of the Persian belief in the Ameshosponds. (Zech. iii. 9; iv. 10).

[3] By R. Simeon B. Jochai, vide Ginsbury's Essay on the Kabbalah.

existed for centuries.[1] We would naturally expect that as soon as a priestly body was formed, and clothed with power, such esoteric teachings would be held as secrets of the deepest order.

In a great variety of ways, the Kabbalistic Jews found hidden meaning in the Old Testament. We will give a few examples to make our meaning clear. In Deuteronomy is the prayer known as the *Shema*,[2] beginning "Hear, O Israel." This was and is of very great importance to the Jews.[3] But in the Hebrew spelling of the word "hear" (*shmo*), the terminal letter, o, is of unusual size.[4] Herein is a Kabbalistic meaning. Written in this large size, it has the numerical value of seventy, and shows (say the Kabbalists) that the Law could be interpreted in seventy ways. Also in the spelling of the word, one (*Achad*), in the same verse, the final d is of this enlarged size. Thus written, its numerical value is four, another Kabbalistic secret. In Isaiah occurs another instance.[5] The word translated *increase*, as spelled in Hebrew, (*Lmbrh*), has the letter m, but in this case the form of m is not one generally used in the middle of the word. Its use is said to be Kabbalistic. The numerical value of the word is entirely changed by this mode of writing.[6]

We need not for the present speak further of the Kabbalah, though we will return to it later. Enough has now been said of the state of religion among the Jews, at the close of the Persian period. We want to hold the main

[1] On this point consult King: "Gnostic Remains," p. 23.

[2] Deut. vi. 14.

[3] It was repeated every morning and evening. Vide Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 307.

[4] This can be seen in any Hebrew Bible.

[5] Isaiah, ix. 7.

[6] On the Kabbalah, see McGregor Mathers: "Kabbalah Unveiled," London, 1887. For some speculations on the peculiar use of m-final in the verse just quoted, see Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 225.

facts in our mind. We hope we have now established the facts that at the close of the period in question there were two schools of thought in Judea. One more progressive than the other, and showing signs of approach towards the general philosophy of the Orient. The other, the conservative element, clinging more tenaciously to the requirements of their ancient religion. Let us now study the course of development during the Grecian period.

When Alexander invaded Asia he found the Jews a widely dispersed people. Only a few had returned from captivity. Almost every important city in Persia had its Jewish settlement, with its synagogue, and, subsequently, arrangement for sending their tribute to Jerusalem.[1] We are to notice, from this time on, that though the Jews had the utmost affection for Palestine, yet they were very free to emigrate, and colonies of them were to be found in all parts of the civilized world. Their egotistical ideas in regard to their importance as a people, and the further idea that their religion was the only one containing any elements of truth, Jerusalem the only holy city, and other one-sided ideas, resulted in keeping them, wherever they chanced to settle, a separate people, having little real interest in the welfare of the people among whom they lived.[2]

We are, therefore, not surprised to hear of the presence of a great many Jews in Alexandria. They went thither at the very first founding of the city, and were granted important privileges. In the troublous times succeeding the death of Alexander, their number was greatly increased. According to Philo, two out of the

[1] Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 164. Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. V. p. 239.

[2] In this respect, they were like the Chinese in modern times. To this trait of character is to be ascribed some of the dislike which is generally, though unjustly, visited upon them.

e districts of the city were settled exclusively by the ws. Here, as elsewhere, the Jews formed a separate ople. They had there own judges, who based their de- ion on the Jewish national laws. They had their own ecutive officer, the *Ethnarch* or *Alabarch* assisted by s council or Sanhedrim. As a rule, the Greeks were vorably inclined towards the Jews. Hence, during the ree centuries of Greek supremacy in Western Asia, the ws became a very much dispersed people. In some ies they formed a large element in the population, as for tance, at Antioch, Damascus, and Palmyra.

Thus it is, that during the centuries immediately pre- ling our era, we find the Jews dispersed from Mesopo- nia to Egypt, from Arabia to Asia-Minor, even out upon e Ionian Islands and over into Europe. Wherever they nt, they formed a people apart from the general mass. ey aimed to keep up religious connections with Jeru- em; transmitting thither their tribute to the temple, en coming up to the feasts, and conducting their wor- ip in their synagogues according to the admonitions of arisaical school at Jerusalem.[1]

We must not forget the return wave, carrying Grecian luence into the very heart of Palestine. The important ice of high-priest was, of course, filled with tools of e reigning Greek king. As a general rule it went the party who would pay the most money. Greek ies were built upon the coast such as Cæsarea, and Apol- ia. Further south, ancient Gaza was rebuilt as a Greek y. The more fertile province of Galilee was especially ed by the Grecians. Ancient Dan received a new eek name, Paneas. Greek cities arose on the shores of

[1] Kuenen has a good chapter on the dispersion. Vol. III. ch. xi; Ewald, V. p. 235.

the Sea of Galilee. The region to the east of the Jordan, known as Perea, contained one confederation of ten cities, known as Decapolis, the cities themselves were quite important. Some of them were new Greek settlements, such as Pella, Dion, and Gerasa; some of them were old Hebrew towns rebuilt, such were Philadelphia, and Areopolis, successors to Rabbath-Amon and Ar-Moab.[1]

We can gather from the scanty historical notices of the times, that the Jewish communities in foreign lands were, on the whole, favored by the rulers. In general they were loyal to the king,[2] and as they possessed considerable wealth, being then as now noted for their commercial pursuits, they were handy to have around when the hard-pressed king wanted to raise money. Other means failing, extortion and force would procure it. But it is equally sure they were disliked by the mass of the people. Even in Alexandria, only with difficulty were they at times protected from the prejudiced fury of the populace.

In truth there was not so very much in common between these two classes. The Jewish colonists tacitly assumed that they were better in all respects than the people among whom they lived. We may smile at this exhibition of national vanity. Unfortunately it has been allowed to influence sober historians, and the state of affairs in the world during the last few centuries preceding the Christian era is often represented as at the very lowest ebb, as far as morals was concerned.

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[1] Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. V. p. 236. Stapfer: "Palestine In the Time of Christ," p. 41. Other Greek cities were Hippus, Gadara, and Scythopolis.

[2] Antiochus the Great, for instance, transferred two thousand Jews from Mesopotamia to Asia Minor, relying on their example to check the rebellious spirit of his new subjects.

Human nature is, unfortunately much the same at all imes and places. And whenever we read about the utter noral depravity of another people, or another time, we nay feel sure that there is a mistake somewhere. The ews were probably fully as superstitious as the people mong whom they dwelt. We know they were devout elievers in witchcraft, magic, sorcery, and the general uperstitions of the times. We have no especial reason to elieve that their lives were any more moral than the ives of the general heathen.[1] The simple fact is, the vorld at that time was making rapid advance in general ntelligence. There was, of course, a feeling on the part f the heathen world that the day of credulous belief in heir old mythologies was rapidly disappearing. This fact ad long been apparent to their scholars. The common eople had now about reached the same stage of belief, nd were now about ready to adopt some tangible form of he expression of the philosophy, heretofore taught in the orm of mysteries.

In proof of this statement, we need only refer to the apid spread of religions which, in a measure, voiced the eachings of the "mysteries." We have already made ention of the cult of Serapis and Isis, and have seen how t spread from Egypt to Europe. Another example is to e found in the worship of Mithras. We have already een that in Mazdeism, Mithra, "the lord of wide pas-ures,"[2] refers to the sun. In time, this deity, who had een but one of the inferior emanations of Ahurza Mazda, rew in importance. Artabanes introduced his worship, as

[1] Josephus writes of the Essenes: "They were afraid of the licentious-ess of women, and were convinced that not one of them keeps her vows f fidelity to one man." The Essenes were a Jewish sect. What sort of commentary is this on Jewish morality ?

[2] Vol. III. p. 749.

a modified form of Mazdeism, into Pontus,[1] from which country, after the conquest by Pompey (in the first half of the first century B.C.), it spread with great rapidity throughout the Roman Empire.

Now the peculiarity of Mithras worship was that he did not represent the first great principle, but the first emanation.

Mithras.

Not the first god, but the demiurge, the creator.[2] He was called the mediator.[3] The sun was his symbol, and the twenty-fifth of December was celebrated as his birthday.[4] Around his cult, gathered all the philosophy of the time.

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[1] Wilder, Payne Knight: "Ancient Art and Mythology," p. 53, note 211.

[2] Vide Vol. III. p. 739. [3] Wilder, Op. cit. p. 123.

[4] This Series, Vol. III. p. 802

The initiates into the ranks of his followers were baptized at a holy font, which was supposed to wash away their sins. But before final initiation, the candidates had to overcome twelve tortures. Then they received the baptism of blood, a lamb or bull was slain and the candidate sprinkled. They were then considered to be *re-born*[1] and were known as the sons of Mithra. The initiate was then marked in some part of the body with a secret mark, generally supposed to be on the forehead,[2] and was given a talisman, a small piece of white stone, on which was a name written in signs only understood by the initiates. As a member of the fraternity, he was now entitled to eat of the heavenly bread or manna, a small disk of bread having figures traced on it, and to partake of a consecrated cup.[3]

Such was the world, dispersed in which were the many Jewish communities we have spoken of above. However firm set a people may be in their opinions, it is inevitable that in the course of centuries their belief will slowly change. If no other cause be at work, the general advance of the people in intelligence will suffice. In the case of the Jews, we have already pointed out the existence of two parties even among those living in Palestine. We would naturally expect that movement to continue. The numerous communities of Jews, dispersed in all parts of the civilized world, could not help being influenced by the heathen be-

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1 Re-birth and regeneration, implying a new beginning, were very frequent words and ideas throughout the Orient and Palestine at this time. Cox: "First Century of Christianity," p. 274.

2 Cf. King: "Gnostics," p. 140.

3 On the Mithraic rites and ceremonies, consult King: "Gnostics," p. 115 *et seq.*; "Bible Folk-Lore," p. 326 *et seq.*; Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 115; "Isis Unveiled, Vol. II. pp. 351, 356; Wilder, Payne, Knight: "Ancient Art and Mythology," pp 53, 123, 167. Justin Martyr and Tertullian both speak of their ceremonies.

liefs they were in contact with, and this influence could not help but react, to some extent, on orthodox belief in Jerusalem.

Now that there was such an influence at work is well known. It was called *Hellenism*. As might be expected, it was especially strong at Alexandria. The name itself is slightly misleading, unless we will take it in a general sense and understand it to include Oriental philosophical speculations in general. For the Jews in Babylon were certainly exposed to Persian influence, and we think that Buddhism exerted considerable influence throughout all Western Asia. The problem now lying before us is to consider the nature of this influence, and its course of development during the three centuries preceding the birth of Christ.

The literature of this period will prove a valuable guide in this matter. One of the first and significant signs of the time was the translation of the books of the Old Testament into Greek. This was accomplished at Alexandria. The Jews in Alexandria, formed, as we have seen, a most important body of citizens. Though they were a closely organized Jewish community, and though their isolating habits were probably as strong here as elsewhere, yet, in time, they came more and more under Greek influence. Their language in time became so much Grecianized that they no longer spoke the Hebrew of Palestine; which latter tongue itself, by the way, had now departed quite widely from the Hebrew of the Old Testament.

Tradition has been quite free with accounts of the origin of this Greek translation of the Old Testament. It is scarcely necessary for us to mention the various accounts. It suffices to say that, feeling the need of a

Greek translation of the Old Testament, the Jews of Alexandria set about the work. The Pentateuch was translated as early as 250 B.C. From time to time, subsequently, the remaining books were also placed in Greek. On examining this translation, we notice several important indications of the way the current of thought was setting. Those expressions in the Old Testament about the appearance and actions of Yaveh, which in any way convey an anthropomorphic meaning, are softened down or explained away.

One or two illustrations will explain this matter. In Exodus, we read about Moses and others seeing the God of Israel.[1] In the Septuagent we simply read of their seeing *the place* where he stood. In Isaiah, we read about the "skirts" of Yaveh filling the temple.[2] In the Greek translation, it is the "glory" of Yaveh.[3] In some cases, the Alexandrian translators felt at liberty to make considerable change, and we notice the new arrangement generally expresses an advanced moral truth.[4] Thus generally, there are these slight changes running through the Greek version; so that it was long ago asserted that, as compared with the Hebrew text, it made quite another impression on the reader.[5]

Palestine remained a part of the Greek kingdom of Egypt for one hundred years, and then it was annexed to the Greek kingdom of Syria. In the first half of the second century B. C., occurred that rising, which, after many years of varying fortune, resulted in the formation

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[1] Ex xxiv 9-11. [2] Isaiah, vi. 1, marginal reading.

[3] Gen. vi 6; Num. xii. 8; Exodus xix. 9-3; Exodus xxv. 8, are other instances where similar slight alterations were made.

[4] Prov xi 31; I. Peter iv. 18, is the Septuagent version; quite a free rendering

[5] Vide Prologue to the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach.

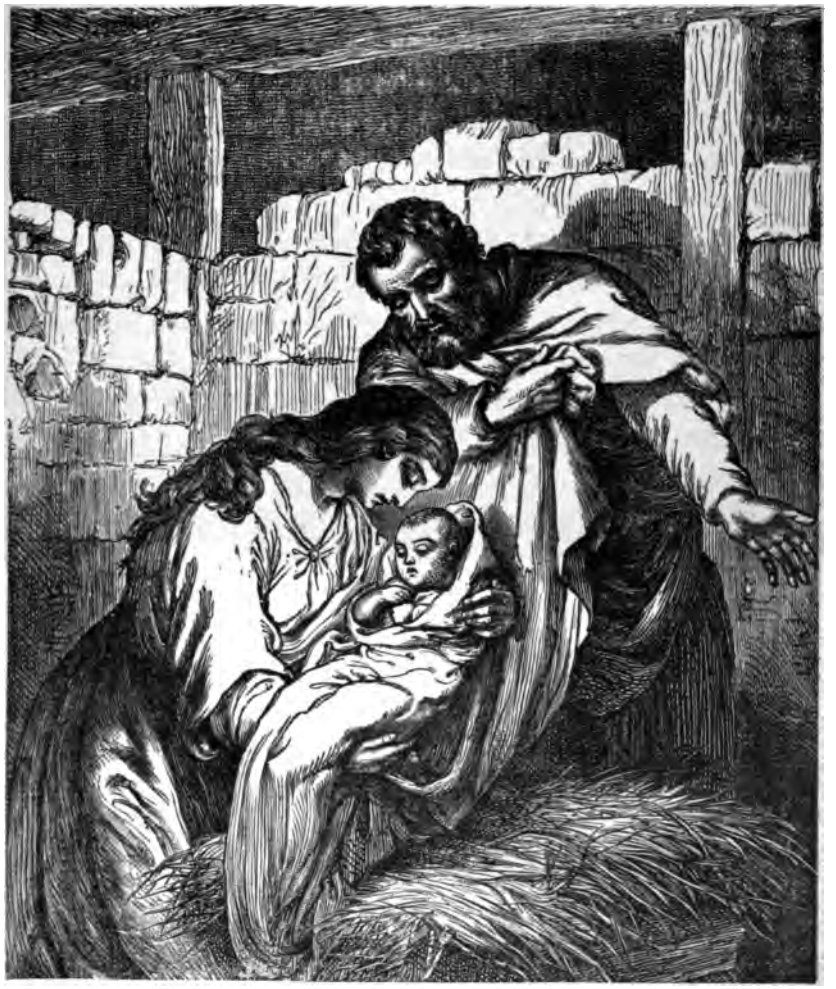
of the Asmonean kingdom, which we will soon describe. During the first century and a quarter of Greek rule,[1] the relations between the subject Jews and the reigning Greeks were, on the whole, peaceful. And during all this time, Greek-Oriental philosophy and Judaism were in friendly contact. The translation of the Old Testament into Greek was only the first step in this matter. We have already pointed out probable traces of Greek thought in this translation.

We cannot fully trace out the development in Alexandria. After the great rising of the Maccabean period, Jewish-Greek literature ceased to be read, and so became lost; but judging from the great activity of the Alexandrian school at a later date, Jewish thought must have been slowly yielding, becoming more and more colored by Greek thought during all this time. Nor are we lacking other evidences of this fact. Jewish orthodoxy in Alexandria, at the close of the period in question, had reached its allegorizing stage. This seems to be a perfectly natural stage of development. When what has passed as religious history begins to loose credence in a more critical age, the effort is to explain away the meaning by allegory. Classical mythology early reached that stage in Greece, and we have seen one Greek philosopher after another giving allegorical explanations of the same.

At this very day, the same process is to be seen in some of the more advanced Mohammedan countries; expressions in the Koran are being explained away. Aristobulus of Alexandria, who lived in the first half of the second century B.C., wrote in explanation of the Mosaic Law. He explains that the "voice of God" does not mean audible words, but divine works. He asserts that

[1] Roundly speaking, more exactly, from 302 to 271 B. C.

we are not to understand literally expressions about the hands, arms, face, and feet of God.[1] We are to observe that this is but a further development of the same line of



Birth of Christ.

thought that influenced the Septuagent translations. But this is not all. The Alexandrian Jews had now become ac-

[1] Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 192; Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. II. p. 259.

quainted with portions of Greek literature. Imitations of the Greek poets sprang up. A Greek drama was composed on the "March out of Egypt," and epic poems on "Jerusalem" and "Shechem" make their appearance.[1] Writers were early at work, trying to show that the great poets and philosophers of Greece must have been acquainted with the Hebrew religion. It was, no doubt, a surprise to the Alexandrian Jews, who had been trained to believe that all of the good in the world had originated in Palestine, to discover anything worthy of praise in the writings of the Greeks. Hence the naive explanation just given.

The theory just enunciated was strengthened by an artifice in keeping with the literary practices of the time. That is, writing in the name of some eminent writer of antiquity. Accordingly the truths of the Jewish scriptures were expressed in poetry, said to have been written by Orpheus or Phocylides. This was quite a favorite device, not only at Alexandria, but in Palestine as well. Another device, scarcely compatible with our idea of literary honesty, was to quote genuine poetry of old writers, but slightly change it, so as to make it express some new idea. A false quotation from the Odyssey, for instance, serving to show a knowledge of the Sabbath.[2]

Letting this brief outline suffice for the state of culture in Alexandria, let us glance at Palestine. As remarked, the political history of the Jews of Palestine down to the reign of Antiochus Ephiphanes was, on the whole, quiet. The high-priest stood at the head of the Jewish state. He was assisted in his government by a council of elders (Gerusa). Some such a body as this must also have been in existence in the Persian period.[3] This was the pre-

[1] Ewald, Op. cit. p. 260.

[2] Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. V. p. 262, note 2.

[3] Ezra ii. 2; iv. 2-3; Neh. vii. 7.

curser of the Sanhedrim, perhaps it was organized in substantially the same way.[1] The Pharisaical school continued flourishing.[2] We would, therefore, look for development to proceed in the line already pointed out. That is, the two parties would become more and more clearly defined.

The movement leading to the formation of two different parties in Palestine assumed definite shape early in the Grecian period. There was first the Grecian party. Briefly expressed, we may say that this party included in its ranks all those favorably impressed with Greek culture, and who were willing to drop some of the more rigid claims of Judaism, and coalesce, to some extent, with Greek culture. Merchants, those in places of power, and, in general, those brought in contact with the outside world must have belonged to this party.

The other party was called the *Hassidem* or saints. This party endeavored in all ways to counteract the other party. It wanted as little as possible to do with the Grecian philosophy and culture. This school of thought was the direct outcome of the legislation of Ezra. Information as to this time is, of course, very limited. We gather, however, that events were running their usual course, and that Grecian influence was getting a firm hold even in Palestine. We know that, when Jason was made high-priest in the year 175 B.C., he openly embraced the the cause of the Grecians. He built a gymnasium at Jerusalem, and introduced various Greek contests. He procured the citizenship of Antioch, which carried with it the right to witness the Greek games. He and his partisans attended the heathen games held at Tyre, in honor

[1] Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 90; cf. Ewald, Op. cit. p. 168.

[2] Wise: "The Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 61.

of Hercules, and carried thither a present of money.[1]

This great change in one direction implies advance in the other as well. The party of the Saints probably grew more and more rigid and intolerant, and secret preparations were making to resist by force this Grecianizing tendency.[2] But first let us consider the literature of the period. Solomon's Song (Canticles)[3] is supposed by some[4] to be "an allegory written in behalf of the Hassidem and against the Grecian Hebrews."[5] The book of Esther may have been written with the same object in view.[6] Esther representing the congregation of Israel; Mordecai, the watchful Hassidem, etc. The Book of Ecclesiastes seems to be but another presentation of the same subject.[7] The author calls himself the *Koheleth*, the congregation of the faithful, which in better times was supreme in Israel. He represents King Solomon as calmly arguing the claims of philosophy. He apparently refers to them all, he denies the ability of *gnosis* or wisdom to explain the enigmas of life. He is displeased with the general course of events, all is vanity.[8]

We must refer also to one apocryphal work of this

[1] Wise: "The Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," pp. 60-70; Kuenen, Op cit. Vol. III. p. 96; Ewald, Op. cit. Vol. V. pp. 274, 294.

[2] Wise, Op. cit. p. 70.

[3] This book is considered by Ewald to have been written shortly after Solomon's time, Vol. IV. p. 42.

[4] Cf. Wise, Op. cit. p. 80.

[5] As is well known, this book was only reluctantly granted a place in the Canon: vide Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 364.

[6] It is generally agreed that this book belongs to the Greek Age. We are here following Rabbi Wise. The general idea is that Esther was written to account for the introduction of the feast of Purim (Kuenen, Vol. III. p. 80; Ewald, Vol. V. p. 230). It is well known, that there were several versions of this story. The Alexandrian Jews worked it up entirely different.

[7] Placed by Ewald at the very close of the Persian supremacy, by Kuenen, at the close of the third century.

[8] Wise, Op. cit. p. 84.

period: the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach. This work was written about the middle of the third century. Jesus ben Sirach was a practical man, who had evidently thought a good deal on the questions of the day. His general conclusion was that true *gnosis* was to be had only in following the laws of God. One figure of speech or conception of his we want to notice. He personalizes Wisdom.[1] "I came out of the mouth of the most high," says Wisdom. "He created me from the beginning, before the world," she continues.[2] Here we have apparently a reference to a Kabbalistic belief. In their belief, Wisdom was the first emanation, and we shall see afterwards that this Wisdom was the same as the Logos of Philo.[3]

This brings us down to the troublous times of Antiochus Epiphanes. We have seen that the political sky in Judea was rapidly overcasting with clouds. The storm was finally precipitated by the action of the Greek king, Antiochus Ephiphanes. The period, on which we have now entered, is one full of stirring adventures, and consequently of much historical interest. Lack of space, however, compels us to be content with only a most general outline. Affairs had reached such a pitch between the two parties in Jerusalem that civil war was but a question of time. In this matter, Antiochus was directly concerned, since he must in the first place keep order, and in the next place the Grecian party was in many respects the royal party. The king was most anxious to fuse the many people subject to him into one homogeneous whole.

[1] Wisdom, xxiv. [2] Cf. Prov. viii. 22.

[3] According to the Jerusalem Targums, Maimonides and other ancient authorities, including Origen, Clement of Alexandrina, and St. Augustine, the words of Genesis i., "In the beginning," should be translated, "By Wisdom." The interested student should examine Higgins: "Anacalypsis," p. 73 *et seq.*; "Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 85; Wise: "Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 82.

In the case of Judea, the first and most essential step was to subvert the national religion. Hence began that train of events which, in the year 167 B.C., led to the apparent overthrow of the Hassidem. The temple at Jerusalem was converted into a temple to Zeus Olympus, and pagan rites were celebrated there. And, similarly, throughout Palestine. The sacred books were burned; the observation of the Law prohibited under pain of death; heathen altars were erected in all the principal towns. The overthrow of the Hassidem was in appearance only. Hidden from sight, the flames burned on until the opportune moment arrived, when they suddenly burst forth with unquenchable fury.

The little town of Modin, between Jerusalem and Joppa, was the place where the insurrection broke out. An aged priest, Mattathias, had sought that quiet place where he could worship the God of his fathers. He was the father of five boys, at this time men grown. But the commissioners of Antiochus invaded that retreat, erected their heathen altar, and demanded that sacrifices be offered thereon. Mattathias not only refused to obey, but when one of the inhabitants approached to lay his gift on the altar, he rushed upon him and killed him. Then were the commissioners themselves set upon and killed; and Mattathias, his sons, and adherents betook themselves to the wilderness, where they speedily became the leaders of insurrectionary bands.

We can not give in detail the events that followed. Twenty-five years of intermittent warfare now ensued. We all know that in all warfare where religion is concerned, even though the combatants be bigoted and fanatical, and especially where they have wrongs to redress, the soldiers display most desperate courage, and often win success

st great odds. It was so in this case. The revolt at
was that of a fanatical people against the encroach-

ilization of Antioch, though the immediate cause of
the impatient and contemptuous tyranny of

Epiphanes.[1] This did not, however, prevent the war being carried on with the greatest courage and gallantry by the Hassidem, under the guidance of the sons of Mattathias.

They were eventually successful, and this result was in no little degree dependent on the diplomatic actions of Rome. That country, which knew so well how to extend her influence at the expense of the liberty and power of other people, had long been interfering in the affairs of the Orient. They finally cast their influence on the side of Judea, and in 142 B.C., Judea was acknowledged to be an independent kingdom, with Simon, the last of the sons of Mattathias, high-priest and prince. Two years later, saw Simon made the hereditary ruler of the land. Thus was established the Asmonean dynasty. Then followed sixty years of internal development, during which Palestine was flourishing. But things took their usual course amongst all nations in any way dependent on Rome. Dynastic troubles, which Rome knew so well how to foster, sprang up. The oppressive weight of Rome grew stronger and stronger, the vassalage became more and more a dependent one. Finally, in the year 37 B.C., we see Herod the Great, supported by Roman arms, uniting Judea to several other Roman provinces in Western Asia, and reigning as king, but holding power directly as a tributary king of Rome.[2]

Of necessity, we have had to be extremely brief, since we are not concerned with the political history of the Jews further than to give understanding to our account of the development of belief among them. The period we have now briefly outlined extends over nearly a century and a

[1] "Bible Folk Lore," p. 194.

[2] This most interesting period in Jewish history, to which we have only been able to give a page or so, is fully treated in Rabbi Wise: "The Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," Cincinnati, 1880.

half. That is quite a long time in the history of a people. Even in times of profound peace, changes would certainly accompany the passage of that number of years. We may confidently look, then, for a change not only in Western Asia in general, but in Palestine as well. We will first turn our attention to the world outside of Palestine.

We have, as yet, abstained from saying anything about the spread of Buddhist influence in Western Asia. Buddhism started from India to conquer the world. We know that it made rapid progress in all directions except Western Asia. We are not lacking indications of its influence even there.[1] In the West, however, Buddhism could not hope to spread as it did in the East. The philosophy it advanced, in many respects, was not new. The most that it could do was to give added impetus to those trains of thought it held in common with the Western Oriental world of the day. Let us illustrate this point. We know that Buddhism spread rapidly in China. But in China there was nothing but primitive belief to bar its way. In Mesopotamia, where its missionaries must early have appeared, it found a well-developed philosophical system, Mazdeism. The most it could accomplish here was to introduce some of its peculiar ideas. Thus they probably did succeed in introducing among them an austere, ascetic life, contrary to the general doctrines of the Persians.[2]

Now we know that Asoka made treaty arrangements with the Ptolemies, and the Seleucidian kings for the observation of Buddhist doctrines among the citizens of their empires.[3] We have every reason to suppose that

[1] This Series, Vol. III. p. 804. [2] Cf. Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 81.
[3] King: "Gnostics," p. 51; Mansell: "Gnostic Hereaies," p. 31.

Buddhist missionaries visited Syria, Palestine, and Egypt within a few generations of Alexander's time. We know that under the name of "Brachman" (Bikishu), they occasionally visited Greece, where they were regarded as almost model philosophers.[1] The movement itself does not seem to have flourished, but still, the facts being as stated, they must have exerted an influence, and must have greatly helped forward all those currents of thought with which they were in sympathy.

In the first place, they must have given added strength to the belief which, as a mystery-doctrine, had been held by the initiates for centuries, in a divine triad.[2] They must have given increased vigor to wide and comprehensive views of God and his providence. Let us remember that Buddhism was the first world-wide, humanitarian religion. It was not bounded by tribe or race. It was not dependent on forms and ceremonies. The Buddhist doctrine of a Tathagatha, who, from time to time, comes into the world, and the consequent worship of the coming Buddha, must have struck the popular chord in the hearts of nearly all people, who dream of a future of joy and happiness. It could not fail to influence, to some extent, the Messianic beliefs of the Jews. Finally their ascetic organization, and austere life generally, would help forward and virtually reorganize that tendency to ascetic life common to all Oriental people.

In Egypt, for instance, and elsewhere, we find traces of the Therapeutic organization, of which Philo is said to have written a full description.[3] The account presents

[1] King, Op. cit. p. 54.

[2] This was a Kabbalistic doctrine. Recall what we have already had to say on the rapid spread of Serapis worship and the worship of Mithras. This result largely depended on the fact that these cults gave tangible expression to this secret doctrine.

[3] "On a Contemplative Life." It is necessary to remark at once that

many points of resemblance between the Therapeutic and Buddhist communities. It is, however, unsafe to use this description as evidence of Buddhist influence in Egypt;[1] though it is manifest that this influence would help forward such ascetic organizations.

Turning now to Alexandria, let us notice the further progress of union between Judaism and Greek-Oriental philosophy. We first refer to the apochryphal book of Wisdom. The date and place of composition is in some dispute, but it was probably written at Alexandria, comparatively late in the period just mentioned.[2] The author was evidently thoroughly acquainted with both Judaism and Greek philosophy. We detect clear traces of Oriental philosophy. He believes in the eternity of matter,[3] in the doctrine of transmigration,[4] and holds that the soul is imprisoned in the body.[5]

The most interesting and significant passages refer to

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it is questioned whether Philo ever wrote this description, or whether there was a sect of this name and character. The discussion of this interesting question will be found in Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 217 *et seq.* In "Hibbert Lectures" for 1882, Professor Kuenen thinks it decided in the negative (p. 202). It remains to be seen whether this confident conclusion will be accepted. In favor of the substantial accuracy of Philo's account, we might quote Ewald: "It rests unmistakably upon an historical basis," (Hist. of Israel, Vol. V. p. 375) Zeller ("Phil. D. Griechen," Dritte Theil Zweite Abth Dritte Auf. pp 306-7) concludes that it is not historical. There is probably no doubt that bodies organized substantially as these are said to have been organized did exist in Western Asia, possibly to some extent in Europe.

[1] As is done in Mansell: "Gnostic Heresies," p. 31; Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," and Bunsen: "Angel Messiah."

[2] Wise thinks it was written in Judea, in Hebrew ("Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 88). Most critics decide as above. Ewald, Vol. V. p. 480; Kuenen, Vol. III. p. 189; "Bible Folk-Lore" (anonymous), p. 209. Bunsen inclines to the belief that Philo was the author.—"Angel Messiah," p. 96 *et seq.*

[3] xi. 17. [4] viii. 19-20.

[5] ix. 15. In face of these quotations, it is difficult to understand Ewald's note, op. cit. p. 480. He thinks the author drew nothing from Oriental sources.

Wisdom and the Logos. We have already seen how Wisdom had been personalized in the earlier work of Jesus ben Sirach, and in a note we called further attention to this matter.[1] In the book of Wisdom, this idea is clearly brought out. Wisdom is a "pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty." She is the "worker of all things." She "orders all things." She is "privy to the mysteries of the knowledge of God." According to the author, it was this personalized Wisdom that is to be understood in all those Old Testament passages where Jehovah is mentioned as talking with or appearing to the patriarchs.[2]

Another most interesting circumstance is to be noted. The Oriental world, believing in the efficacy of magical words, had also formed a strange conception of the personality of the voice or word of their god. Possibly, in an earlier age this represented the thunder. We know that the Greeks called thunder "the Word or messenger of Zeus," while the Romans worshiped it as a goddess, Fama.[3] In Mazdeism, the most glorious, holy Word, the soul of Ahurza Mazda, was to be invoked to repulse the demons, and the angel Sraosh is sometimes called "the incarnate Word."[4] These two conceptions are united in the Book of Wisdom. The Logos (Word) was Wisdom which sits by the throne.[5] This conception becomes the "Holy Spirit from above.[6] It is called the "Saviour of all,"[7] and it is explained that the brazen serpent was but a type of this Being.[8] Considering all this, we can but

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[1] Mazdeism worshiped, as a personified spirit, Religious Wisdom, the first creation of Mazda.

[2] x. 11, 13.

[3] "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. V. Introduction, p. lxxxviii.

[4] Fargad. xix. Srosh Yast Hadhokht.

[5] ix. 4; cf. xviii. 15-16. [6] ix. 17. [7] xvi. 7. [8] xvi 12.

what an influence Oriental philosophy had already
erted on Jewish belief in Alexandria.

Christ Blessing Little Children.

This brings us down to the consideration of Philo and
writings. Philo was a native of Alexandria, and be-
nged to a distinguished family; the Alabarch, or Jewish

governor, was a near relative.[1] He was born a decade or so before the Christian era.[2] He gave himself to the study of Judaism and Greek philosophy, and appears to have been at home in both. The natural consequence was, that, in his own philosophical scheme, which he supported in his writings, though he starts from a Jewish basis, he incorporates a large number of Greek elements. His writings are highly significant, since they probably show the final stage of pre-Christian, Alexandrian belief.

He was quite a voluminous writer, and, undoubtedly, exerted a great influence on his people. We will here speak of but two points in connection with his writings The first was his abundant use of allegory. Everything to his mind in the Old Testament is allegorical. Every little circumstance has some hidden meaning. This is the final stage of that allegorical habit that we have noticed steadily growing at Alexandria. In illustration of his method, we might refer to his treatment of the account of the blossoming of Aaron's rod. The statement in the Bible is that it bore nuts (almonds).[3] This is highly significant to Philo, and a long dissertation follows, not on the miracle itself, but on the question why the rod bore almonds and not fruit.

Philo's theology shows us a strange union of Judaism and Greek-Oriental philosophy.[4] Though he conceived of God as a personal being to be worshiped, yet he was a vague, far-away being of whom nothing could really be known. "He is without grief or fear, not subject to evil, unyielding, painless, never wearied, filled with unmixed

[1] Some say his brother (Kuenen), others his nephew (Ewald).

[2] We do not know the exact date. In 41 A.D. he speaks of himself as an old man.

[3] Num. xvii. 8.

[4] Ueberweg: "History of Philosophy," p. 229.

happiness." He believed in the eternal existence of matter, but probably in a Platonic sense, it was more or less an illusion after all.[1] Matter is regarded as polluting in itself; this doctrine is an Indian one.[2] From the foregoing, it follows that God must have performed his work of creation by means of intermediary powers. And here we come at once on traces of the influence of Persian belief, in the doctrine of emanation. We will dwell on only one prominent feature—the Logos doctrine. The personalized Divine Word. We have already traced the steady growth of this idea in Alexandrian belief; but it assumed great prominence in Philo's system.

The Word of Philo is a spiritual creation, man is created in his image,[3] he is God's first-born son,[4] the oldest of his angels, the archangel of many names,[5] he is our advocate or paraclete, he is "continually a suppliant to the immortal God on behalf of the mortal race."[6] The brazen serpent of Moses was simply a representation of him.[7] He is the great high priest of the world, or of our confession;[8] he is the instrument by means of which God created the world; in comparison with all other creations he is a god himself.[9] "He liberates men from corruption and entitles them to immortality;" "He imparts spiritual freedom;" "He is the sure refuge of those who seek him;" "He is the heavenly bread of the soul."[10] According to Philo, wherever in the Old Testament God is spoken of as appearing to, or speaking to, the patriarchs, we are to understand the Divine Word, the Logos.

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1 This Seris, Vol. III. p. 764. 2 Ibid. p. 739.
3 "Questions and Solutions," 62.
4 "Confusion of Language," xiv. 5 Ibid. xxviii.
6 On "Who is Heir," etc. xlii. 7 Ibid.
8 On "Dreams Sent from God," xxvii., xxxviii.
9 Zeller: "Phil. D Griechen," Vol. III. p. 370 *et seq.*
10 Etheridge: "The Targums," p. 23.

We must now return to Jerusalem and briefly outline the development of thought from Asmonean times down. We have seen the triumph of the Hassidem. When the clouds broke away and the Asmonean kingdom entered on its brief career, it was found that old party lines had shifted about considerably. The Grecian party had disappeared as such, and the Hassidem had split into two divisions. In short, there were three great parties in Palestine.

The Greek party was represented by the *Sadducees*. Various etymologies have been suggested for this word,[1] but it is probably derived from *Tsaddik*, which signifies "rulers, governors, and victors."[2] This certainly describes the party well. We can see how, as independence was gained, the old aristocracy, the warriors, and the leaders would naturally draw together in one party. We can further understand why this party would be little given to religious [illegible] attention would center more [illegible] must study diplomacy and con- [illegible] surrounding people. Hence, in [illegible] conservatives. They accepted [illegible] religious in observa- [illegible] down in the Torah [illegible] the temple and its sacri- [illegible] denied the immortality [illegible] that they denied [illegible]

[illegible] Pharisees. The name is [illegible] word meaning

[illegible] personal name; [illegible] p. 122; cf. Stapfer [illegible]

[illegible] note [illegible]

[illegible] History of the Christian [illegible]

separated.[1] This body represented the Hassidem of earlier times. This was the religious party. Their religion was everything in their eyes. Study of the law and their sacred books was the only kind of learning they admired. They wanted as little to do with outside nations as possible. They were ready enough to make all and any sacrifice, even to laying down their lives in defence of their religion, but they cared little for national independence. They were willing to leave that to God, if he wanted Israel to be independent, it would be. This body included, of course, a great number of fanatics.

Still a third party, in some respects the most interesting of all, now demands attention, the Essenes. Here, again, the etymology of the term is in dispute. As indicative of their origin, it may have been derived from Hassidem,[2] or it may be derived from a word meaning bathers, which would be indicative of one of their principal customs.[3] Quite a conflict has raged over the question whether or not this sect was the outcome of Eastern, and especially Buddhist influence. Strong assertions are made on both sides of this question. Here, as elsewhere, it seems to us that the truth lies between two extremes. When we learn the many points of resemblance between the Essenic life, doctrines, and other regulations, and those of various Oriental bodies, and especially the Buddhists, it seems difficult to believe they were of entirely independent origin.[4]

[1] But cf. This Series, Vol. III. p. 768, note 3; also King: "Gnostics," p. 33, and p. 120 where he favors the derivation from a word meaning Persia.

[2] The Syriac form of which is *Chasya*.

[3] Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 455. Ewald, Op. cit. Vol. V. p. 370, note 2. Wise: "Hebrews' Second Commonwealth," p. 122.

[4] Consult Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," ch. vii. Bunsen:

But now, that tendency in the human mind, in virtue of which people delight in mystical doctrines and give themselves over to ascetic lives and unite in celibate societies, was present among the Jews as well as other people. The priesthood could have been no sooner formed than would appear the distinction between esoteric and exoteric doctrines. Wherever this distinction is observed, mystical doctrines flourish and mystical societies abound In fact, we seem to catch clear traces of similar societies in Old Testament times. We refer to what is known as Nazaritism. The duties of a Nazarite are laid down in the Law.[1] We are acquainted with people who were thus set aside for the life of a Nazarite.[2] There is a strong probability that the association of prophets that we find dwelling together in communities were Nazarites.[3] The Rechabites, founded by Jonadab, were unquestionably an ascetic body, withdrawn from the world at large,[4] and here it is necessary to remark that according to Epiphanius the Essenes were sometimes called Nazarines.

With these facts before us, we are not to suppose that the Essenic body was altogether due to outside influence. When we reflect that at the time Essenism made its appearance in Palestine the country had long been subject to Oriental influence coming from Persia, from Alexandria, and even from India, it becomes exceedingly probable that this influence revived the ascetic tendency in Judea, and stamped on the new organization, thence arising many an Oriental peculiarity in organization and belief.[5]

"Angel Messiah," pp. 119–135. He gives a list of twenty-five "Parallel Doctrines and Rights of Essenes, Parsists, Buddhists and Pythagoreans.

[1] Samuel, Sampson. I. Sam.i.11, 28; Judges xiii. 5. [2] Num. vi.1-22.

[3] I Sam. x. 5, 6, 10; II. Kings ii 3, 5; iv. 38, cf. Amos ii. 2.

[4] Jer. xxxv.

[5] Neander: "History of Christian Religion," Vol. I. p. 44. Kuenen

Turning to consider the sect itself, we have to pick our way through a confused field of observation. Three ancient writers have left short descriptions of them—Josephus, Philo, and Pliny the Elder.[1] Epiphanius and Hippolytus also speak of them; all modern writers, of course, treat of them. There were two principal divisions of these people, corresponding largely to the two great divisions of the Buddhists—the Monks and the Adherents. The latter class were called Secular Essenes. They did not abandon the society of the world. This class married, lived in towns and cities, and probably took on themselves only a few of the regular obligations. They probably formed a widely-spread, semi-secret society.

The regular Essenes were, strictly speaking, monks, and wore a distinctive dress and girdle. They generally dwelt in monasteries. The Oasis of Engedi was a very favorite place of resort, and the territory to the west of the Dead Sea was also occupied. Discipline in these monasteries was very strict. They supported themselves by manual labor, dressed plainly, lived very frugally, spent much time in meditation and religious exercises, and had all things in common. The ceremonial bath, veritable baptism, which cleansed them from defilement, was an important ceremony with them. It was taken daily before the sacred meal. To this meal only initiates were admitted. The members came clothed in their white robes, as though

insists that Essenism is a purely Jewish development "The Hibbert Lectures," 1882, p. 190 *et seq.* In this he is supported by Stapfer, Op. cit. p. 255. Zeller, however, contends that Essenism can not be of pure Judean origin, and decides in favor of Neo-Pythagoreanism by way of Alexandria. "Philosophie Der Griechen," Band III. s. 308 *et seq.* It seems very clear that Essenism is but the Jewish side of an extremely general phenomenon.

[1] "Antiquities of the Jews," x. 5, 9; xv. 10, 4; xviii. 1, 5. "Wars of the Jews," ii. 8, 2-13. "Fragments of Lost Works," ch. viii. "On the Virtuous being also Free," "Natural History, v. 17.

of the Pharisees, or better, perhaps, to the sacred meal, which, for want of a better name, we may call the eucharistic meal, which was so generally celebrated in all religious bodies of the Orient.[1] There were several grades of these monks. The initiations from grade to grade were very solemn affairs.

Though the basis of their faith was Judaism, we catch sight of many Oriental items of belief, and in some respects, they departed from Judaism. They ceased to visit the temple at Jerusalem, they condemned all bloody sacrifices, though they sent other offerings to the temple. It is certain that they gave an allegorical significance to Scripture. They adopted Oriental ideas as to soul and matter, believed the soul to have lived before birth, that this life was in the nature of an imprisonment for the soul in impure matter. They held to a number of esoteric doctrines which were never divulged except to the initiates. Part of their secret doctrine had reference to angels, this was especially guarded. Of their Messianic doctrines, we know almost nothing. Yet if they were at all influenced by Oriental belief, they must have looked for the coming of some supernatural being to set up the "kingdom of heaven," which they believed to be near at hand. This doctrine was probably one of their closely kept secrets.[2]

It is evident that this society, with its disciplined monks and its numerous adherents, with its secret beliefs and mystical doctrines, scattered somewhat generally throughout Judea, must have exerted no little influence on Jewish thought. It is easy to see, too, that their allegorizing attitude in regard to the Old Testament, their opposi-

[1] This subject will be traced later.

[2] Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," pp. 111-119; Stapfer: "Palestine in the time of Christ," ch. xiv.

tion to the bloody sacrifices of the temple, their belief that the kingdom of heaven was near at hand, their custom in regard to baptism, which was a formal ceremonial affair, must have been slowly undermining Jewish orthodoxy. We may say, generally, that "all those who shared in the deep and general tendency of the religious spirit to leave what was outward, and concentrate itself upon the inward, were touched more or less by the Essenic spirit."[1]

The Essenes, of course, took no part in the political life of the times. But the Pharisees and the Sadducees were fierce contestants, and more than once blood flowed like water in the streets of Jerusalem because of their quarrels. During the first years of independence, the Pharisees formed the principal party. But, in the reign of John Hyrcanus,[2] the Sadducees came into power. From this time until the accession of Herod the Great (37 B.C.), the Sadducees were in general the ruling sect; though there were intervals of time when the Pharisees were in power. But the larger part of the people of Israel, their most learned men, were Pharisees.

It may help us to understand the relation of affairs in this period, to remember that, though the Sadducees were the conservative party in religion, yet, as being the ruling party, the high-priest was generally a Sadducee, and, as a consequence, the priesthood generally belonged to the same party. The official religion of the land being thus in their hands, it was fast drifting towards mere formalism. The great centers of Pharisaical influence, outside of their philosophical schools, were the synagogues. We must recall that the great aim of the Pharisaical movement was

[1] Bauer: "Church History of First Three Centuries," Vol. I. p. 28.
[2] 134-107 B.C.

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the interpretation and enforcement of the Law laid down by Moses. Thus, in their system, the scribes and doctors of the law became of more importance than the priest. We are also aware of two schools of thought in the ranks of the Pharisees. The one school was more narrow-minded in their views than the other.

The literature of this period survives in the shape of apochryphal books, with one possible exception of which we will soon speak. Somewhat singularly, this literature seems to emanate from without the Pharisaical ranks. Of course the Sadducees would not busy themselves in this matter. The Pharisees themselves were too busy in the study of the Law and their oft-time disputes to leave behind them any writings of great value. We can say of most of the books to which we shall refer, that their writers were no doubt influenced by the same influence that gave vitality to the Essenian movement. What we are to notice, is the subject generally treated of and the changing nature of the Messianic hope.

The Book of Daniel is, by some scholars of acknowledged ability, referred to this period, and is supposed to have been written, or, at least, put in its present shape, about 175 B.C.[1] This, it will be remembered, was a time of great trouble; just when the Jews were entering on their great struggle with Antiochus Epiphanes. Now a part of the Book of Daniel is what is called an apocalypse —that is to say, a series of revelations. The writer, in visions, learns of heavenly mysteries, which are explained to him by angelic beings. As is well known, the Book of Revelations, in the New Testament, is an excellent example

[1] We can not enter into the discussion on this point. Vide Kuenen: "Religion of Israel," Vol. III. p. 106; Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. IV. p. 302; Wise, Op. cit. p. 122.

of this kind of writing, but several similar passages occur in the Old Testament.[1] It was probably written outside of Jerusalem[2]—perhaps, in Babylon; the writer certainly shows familiarity with Persian writings and with Chaldean superstitions.[3]

A point of great moment must now be noted, that is the conception of the Messiah contained in the Book of Daniel. In explaining the king's dream[4] and in the interpretation of his own vision,[5] we are told of the celestial kingdom of the Messiah, and we are especially to notice the angelic character of this being.[6] It is seen at once that this conception is different from the popular Jewish conception of a victorious prince of the house of David. Now we have pointed out that the tendency of Oriental belief would be to effect just such a change as this, we have seen it brought about in Jewish belief in Alexandria, and have seen reason to conclude that this was an Essenic doctrine also. It is, therefore, very interesting to meet this same conception in one of the books of the Old Testament, probably written at Babylon, and possibly as late as the time of the formation of the Essenic order. It throws no uncertain light on the gradual infiltration of Oriental and essentially Aryan ideas.[7]

Turning to apochryphal literature, a wide and interesting field is before us. But many of the productions of

[1] Isaiah vi.; Ezekiel viii. 10, etc.

[2] Ewald, Vol. V. p. 303.

[3] Consult Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," pp. 283-295; Lenormant: "Chaldean Magic."

[4] Dan. ii. 44-45. [5] Dan. vii. [6] Dan. vii. 13-14.

[7] This argument is not directly concerned with the date of the Book of Daniel. Should we decide that it was written some centuries earlier, it will simply show that this influence early exerted itself. We should recall the old Chaldean conception of Mirri-Dugga, son of Hea, and mediator between God and man (Vol. II. p. 696-7); of the Buddhist conception of the Tathagatha and worship of the future Buddha (Ibid. Vol. III. p. 798); and, finally, the Persian belief in Soshyant.

this period, we may pass over as not of very great importance for the purpose of our inquiry.[1] We now come to a book of great importance, the "Book of Enoch." This book was written by a Jew, but not in Palestine. He must have lived in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea. He wrote under the name of Enoch, and must have been a very devout man, but influenced to considerable extent by the Oriental ideas which we have just discussed. He is supposed to have written in the first century preceding the Christian Era. His book became a great favorite in Palestine.[2] Especially does this remark apply to the mystically inclined classes among the Jews. Kabbalistical writers refer to it as a book of authority.[3] For this reason it must have been a favorite with all Essenically inclined Jews.[4]

This book exerted a very great influence in apostolic times. It is well known that Jude makes a direct quotation from it,[5] but numerous passages occur throughout the New Testament where the same language, used in the same sense, is to be found as in the Book of Enoch. Doubtless, much of this similarity is to be explained by the fact that the Book of Enoch was so extensively read in the first century of our era. And especially strong is this similarity in the Book of Revelations.[6] In later times, we find

[1] In this list, we include Tobit, Baruch, Judith, Susanna, and various additions to the Book of Daniel. Consult Wise, Op. cit. p. 125. Ewald places the first two in this list at an earlier date.

[2] Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 361.

[3] Lawrence: "The Book of Enoch the Prophet," p. ix. The great text book of the Gnostics, "Pistis Sophia," makes frequent mention of the Book of Enoch. King: "Gnostics," p. 18.

[4] As was also the Book of Daniel. It is supposed, by some, that the author of the Book of Daniel was himself an Essene (Wise, Op. cit.) They have been called a "school of apocalyptic speculators" (Stapfer, Op. cit. p. 467).

[5] Jude: 14, 15; quoted from Enoch ii. and a part of Enoch xxvi. 2.

[6] Professor Stuart would explain this similarity on the theory that

Iranæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian citing the Book of Enoch as an inspired production. Origen would

Christ and Nicodemus.

assign it to about the same scale of authority as the

the author of Enoch deliberately copied from Revelations. Almost all scholars now admit that Enoch was written earlier than Revelations.

Psalms. Yet, although it thus colored all the literature of the times, and passed rank for a while as an inspired work, it was gradually lost sight of, and only of late years was it discovered in the wilds of Abyssinia.[1]

Turning to the Book of Enoch itself, we find it to consist of a series of visions. The coming of the Messiah is foretold,[2] and the doom of the wicked and the joys of the elect are mentioned.[3] Then follows a long account of the descent of fallen angels to earth,[4] and consequent introduction of evil. But the writer foresees a time when all sin shall be driven from the world.[5] Nineteen chapters then follow, telling us of the journeys of Enoch in company with angels when he has revealed to him all manner of heavenly secrets. The next twenty-five chapters[6] are probably the most interesting part of the book. Three parables, or series of visions, are contained in this section. They are all concerned with the Millenium or Judgment. They treat of the happiness of the "elect" and the eternal punishment of the condemned. Aside from most interesting coincidence of language in which the joys and sorrows are painted, our attention is demanded for the consideration of two points.

The first one seems to be the setting forth of a trinity, but on this point it may be well to suspend judgment until a more complete study can be made. However, reference is made to the "Ancient of Days," to the "Lord of Spirits," and to the "Messiah." It may be that the first two expressions refer to the same spiritual being. But we judge not, because they are often used where they seem to

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[1] The edition we have had to examine is an anonymous one from the translation of Bishop Lawrence: "The Book of Enoch the Prophet," London, 1883.

[2] Enoch ii. [3] vi.

[4] vii.—xvi. [5] x. 27. [6] xxxvii.—lxxi.

refer to two spiritual beings.[1] The description of the Messiah is, of course, the most interesting one. He is the "son of man," the "elect one," he existed from the beginning in secret,[2] he was invoked before the Lord of Spirits, "before the sun and the signs were created, before the the stars of heaven were formed."[3] "He shall be the hope of those whose hearts are troubled. All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship him."[4] He it is who reveals to the saints the "wisdom of the Lord of Spirits," and, "in his name," shall the saints be preserved.[5] In the great day of judgment, seated on the "throne of his glory"[6] with the Ancient of Days,[7] he shall exercise all judgment,[8] separate the righteous from the wicked—sending the latter to everlasting punishment,[9] but the saints, clothed "with the garment of life,"[10] shall dwell with him, "eat, lie down, and rise up for ever."[11]

There is another kind of knowledge that was undoubtedly widely spread throughout Palestine to which we must now refer. We have but briefly glanced at it—the Kabbalah. It must be borne in mind, however, that there is a dispute as to the age of the Kabbalah. However, as secret oral doctrines, there is probably no question that the Kabbalah is extremely ancient. This knowledge flourished in the Oriental world; from Egypt to India, from Greece to Palestine. We must remember that this knowledge was a secret of the deepest order. Only after

[1] Enoch xlviii., lxx. relate that when Enoch ascended into heaven he saw the Lord of Spirits; but when he ascended into the heaven of heavens, he saw the Ancient of Days. In general it is the Lord of Spirits who commands and punishes (lxv. 3, lxii. 16, lviii. 14), and the one to whom praise shall be given (lxii. 2). In general, also, the Ancient of Days is surrounded with more of solemn awe (xlvi. 1, xlvii. 3 and lxx. 12). But in liv. it seems as if the Ancient of Days and the Lord of Spirits were the same being.

[2] lxi. 10. [3] xlviii. 3. [4] Ibid 4. [5] Ibid. 6, 7. [6] lx. 10.
[7] xlvi. 1. [8] lxv. 11. [9] lx. 14 [10] Ibid. 18. [11] Ibid. 17.

many trials of courage and endurance were candidates made acquainted with it. Each people probably gave a local coloring to the great secrets, which were but slightly varying forms of Oriental philosophy.

The Jewish Kabbalah, then, was but a branch of the Oriental Kabbalah, colored by local Jewish beliefs, but teaching once more Oriental conceptions in regard to God. Undoubtedly the mystically inclined Jews, especially the Essenes, must have felt an interest in this study. Though this whole movement was a secret one, still it forms one important factor to be considered among the factors gradually working a change in Jewish orthodoxy.[1] We have shown some of the Kabbalistic meanings drawn from the Bible. It is simply impossible to convey a clear statement of the teachings of the Kabbalah in the limited space at our command. We can, however, affirm that it taught an allegorical interpretation of the Bible. It further taught that the infinite God of all was inconceivable. The language used is as difficult and hard to be understood as the Hindoo description of Brahma. It teaches the doctrine of emanation. From the inconceivable God, emanate ten *Sephiroth*, which are the personalized attributes of God.[2] It teaches a doctrine of the trinity, or rather a succession of triads, for the sephiroth are masculine and feminine, and are grouped together in sets of three. Of these triads, one—the crown, the king and the queen, which in a sense includes all the other triads —presents many analogies to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.[3] The reader will not fail to see that the teachings

[1] For a discussion of the age of the Kabbalah, see Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," ch. viii. [2] Cf. This Series, Vol. III. p. 749.

[3] We should remember that in many of the Gnostic circles the Holy Spirit was feminine. The word, spirit, was feminine in Hebrew (MacGregor Mather, Op. cit. p. 22). In the Apochryphal Gospel "According

of any such system must have had a tendency to break in on Jewish orthodoxy.

And now to show how all the foregoing had exerted an influence in Judaism, we need only refer to the Targums. Once more, however, we are confronted with the question of age. The Targums are interpretations of the Scripture, made from classical Hebrew into the Aramaic Hebrew of Palestine, sometimes accompanied with explanatory notes. It is undoubted that a collection of such writings existed before the Christian Era. It is disputed, however, whether those we now have go back further than the fourth century or not; some putting them as far back as Philo's time. But, it being admitted that there were pre-Christian Targums, it is not probable that they differed very materially from those we now have.[1]

Examining the Targums themselves, we are at once struck with the fact that they also speak of the Divine Word; and sometimes, at least, they mean thereby a personalized being, just as much as Philo does in his writings. In general, all appearances of God to men, mentioned in the Old Testament, are, in the Targums, understood to be of the Word. It was the Word that appeared to Adam and Eve in the Garden, to Abraham at Mamre, etc. Yet passages occur showing a distinction between the Word and God himself, thus "These things said the Lord. . . . Look unto my Word and be ye saved."[2] The Targums make frequent mention of the Messiah, but it may be doubtful whether they expected an angelic being. Some expressions, however, would seem to indicate that the

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to the Hebrews," the Holy Spirit is spoken of as the mother of Christ.

1 Vide Etheridge: "Introduction to The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel," p. 5.

2 Targum Jon. Isaiah xlv. 18-22.

Messiah was none other than this Divine Word.[1] But other passages seem to imply a distinction between the two.[2]

Let us pause a moment and review the ground, over which we have now come. Briefly speaking, the history of Jewish thought from the day of the captivity down to the commencement of the Christian Era shows us a slow but persistent and gradual change, impelled thereto by the constant pressure of Oriental ideas. This change, begun in the Persian period, went forward with equal pace in the time of Grecian supremacy. It shows its influence in the apochryphal books, in the Kabbalah, in explanatory Targums, and in the great party divisions of the Jews. The most significant feature of this change was the nature of the Messianic hope. The expectation of the return of David, or a warlike prince of his house, had been exchanged by a large section of the Jewish people for the belief in the coming of a pre-existing angelic being, and instead of a political kingdom, there was to be set up the heavenly kingdom of the Messiah. It is necessary to keep in mind that, though owing to the spread of the Essenic spirit, and the influence of the widely read Book of Enoch, this new conception was widely extended, still it was probably combatted by the ruling Sadducees and the influential Pharisees.

Looking to the world at large, we find it to be a time of very general peace. The all-powerful arm of Rome was everywhere triumphant. Peace, even though some liberties be crushed, has its accompanying blessings. Gen-

[1] Targum Jonathan on Malachi iii. makes the coming one to be the Divine Word. Targ. Jon. on Isaiah xvi. 1, makes the Messiah to be the one who was with the Israelites in the wilderness which in other passages is identified as the Word.

[2] Vide Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 101.

eral intelligence and science had been making very great strides. Rome had entered on its intellectual development. Trade and commerce must have been flourishing. In religion, we have seen the very general giving up of the old mythologies, and the consequent rapid spread of semi-mystical religions, such as Serapis and Isis worship and Mithraicism. Nor was the influence of Buddhism wholly lost on the Western World. Religion could no longer be a tribal or local affair. It must now be world-wide in its aim. It could no longer be a ceremonial affair, it must enunciate the virtues of morality. Ascetic societies had been founded, the missionary was not unknown, and the infinite pity and love of the Infinite Father could now be understood by the various nations of the world. As far as moral life was concerned, undoubtedly the world was much the same as at present. Those writers who are so fond of representing the world as in the very lowest depths of moral life are drawing on their imagination.

When we consider all the foregoing, it would seem as if the "fullness of time" mentioned by the Apostle was now at hand, consequently, looking once more to Palestine, we see a star shining in the East. In short, the Divine founder of Christianity was now born, and we are now to see how all these various streams that we have been tracing converge to form one whole, that has since rolled on in a volume of ever-increasing force.

In a work of this character, it is not expected that we should give with any fullness of detail the life of Jesus[1] of Nazareth. We ask all to remember that we are writing solely from an historical stand-point. We are more con-

[1] The word translated Jesus is simply the Greek form of Joshua, which was a common name in Palestine. See Giles: "Apostolic Records, London, 1886, p. 161.

cerned with the interpretation put upon his teachings by his countrymen, and the gradual spread and possible modification of the same which eventuated in Christianity. Neither are we called on to discuss the date and authenticity of the Gospel memoirs of the life and teachings of Jesus. It is well-known that there is a great dispute on these questions.[1]

We shall content ourselves with simply showing a few of the more salient points of his life, such as every historian is bound to notice, leaving to others the more pleasing task of portraying his life at large. We do not know the year of his birth. Our scholars vary in their opinion from seven to two years B.C.[2] Still more uncertain are we as to his birthday. The usually accepted day, Christmas, was chosen by Pope Julius I., in the fourth century, probably in deference to popular superstition, the reason of which we have already given.[3]

We know but little about his reputed parents. His mother, Mary, seems to have been a member of the tribe of Levi; while Joseph was a member of that of Judah, and a descendant of David.[4] We know virtually nothing of the first years of his life. His home was in Nazareth

[1] Amongst the host of authorities, we will mention but one on each side. Westcott: "On the Canon of the New Testament," London, 1881, 5th edition. This writer supports the more general view as to the early age and authenticity of the Gospels. On the other side, the latest and most exhaustive treatise seems to be that of an anonymous writer (evidently a German) "Supernatural Religion," in three volumes, London, 1884

[2] It is not necessary to explain this strange sounding statement. Vide Zumpf: "Das Geburtsjahr Christ;" Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 475; Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. VI. p. 149; Clinton in his late exhaustive treatise: "Fasti Romani," concludes on 5 B.C.

[3] Vol. III. p. 802. It could not well have been Christmas, because at that time of the year shepherds were not watching their flocks by night in Judea. Vide Stapfer, Op. cit. p. 225.

[4] On this point see Ewald, Vol. VI. p. 183.

of Galilee.[1] His reputed father, Joseph, was a carpenter. The family was large. In addition to Jesus, Mary was the mother of four sons and several daughters.[2] Joseph is supposed, from very slight foundations however, to have died when Jesus was comparatively young, after which Mary probabably removed to Cana, and, later still, to Capernaum, on the shores of Lake Galilee. Here, as the oldest son of a widowed mother, Jesus was probably recognized as the head of the family, spoken of especially as the "son of Mary."[3] The family probably belonged to the middle walks of life, neither rich nor poor. Zebedee, a well-to-do fisherman of Bethsaida, on the same lake, had married Salome, the sister of Mary.[4]

Galilee has been called the "New England of Palestine." It was a fertile upland country. Josephus praises its climate, its soil, and the beautiful scenery. It was thickly settled, and the inhabitants were as interesting as the country. The Galileans were not of pure Hebrew blood, indeed they were very much mixed. According to Dr. Stapfer, "In Galilee new faiths found ready acceptance . . . the people were simple, thoughtful, fond of new and daring ideas. . . . They were an active, hardy race; they were no dreamers, . . . they showed independence of mind and true freedom of spirit."[5] This result was probably owing to their distance from the narrow in-

[1] It is necessary to remark that all references to Nazareth in the New Testament may, possibly, have quite another meaning than the one usually given. We have not space, nor is it necessary, to discuss that point. Vide Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 101.

[2] It is now not necessary to argue this point. The early church fathers sought to deny it, but it is so generally admitted that nothing need be said. [3] Mark vi. 3.

[4] Ewald, Vol. VI. p. 181. As to Salome being the sister of Mary and aunt of Jesus, cf. John xix. 25, Matthew xxvii. 56, Mark xv. 40. "His mother's sister," "Salome," "mother of Zebedee's children."

[5] "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 118.

uence of the schools at Jerusalem and the large foreign opulation in their midst. It was in the midst of such rroundings that Jesus passed his childhood and years of rly manhood.

Another figure of great historic interest now demands tention. He was a relative of the same family, his other being connected with Mary and Salome.[1] This troduces us to John the Baptist.[2] Of his early years othing is known of certainty. As his parents were both ged at the time of his birth, they probably died while he as young. The description given of him in the pages of e New Testament, when he had commenced his great ork, are very interesting. That he regarded himself as ne of the Nazarites of old, there is no doubt.[3] But we ave suggested that the Essenian movement included in s ranks the ancient Nazarites. It becomes probable, then, hat John the Baptist was an Essene, though, as there are umerous sects of Essenes, there is nothing to forbid the rther supposition that the movement he started was in any respects peculiar, and had features not usually held y the Essenes.

We must now consider the locality where he worked. t was the wilderness, to the south and east of Jerusalem, he very home of the Essenian movement. We must rther consider his peculiar dress[4] and austere life, his lainness of speech,[5] his maxims,[6] the doctrine he preached, nd the symbolic rite he adopted.[7] This was all Essenic,

[1] Luke i. 26.

[2] The word translated "Baptist" may possibly stand in very close elation to the word usually translated "Essene." Vide Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," pp. 114, 144.

[3] Luke i. 15. [4] Mark i. 6. [5] Luke iii. 7. [6] Ibid. v. 15.

[7] Baptism was a very common feature in the Orient, to mark a new eginning, literally a new birth. It held a place in Buddha worship, the Eleusinian mysteries; and proselytes to Judaism were first im-

though, as just stated, his movement may also have been, and probably was, possessed of distinguishing features. It may be, that the sect of the Nazarenes, which claimed him as their founder, have an historic right to this claim, but in this case we may also assume that they did not preserve his doctrines in their pristine purity.[1]

The movement thus inaugurated by John produced a great effect, and seems to have moved all classes of Jewish society.[2] It was the custom of the times for any Jewish rabbi, who was a recognized teacher, to gather around him a band of disciples, and the relations existing between the rabbi and his disciples were somewhat akin to those between the Hindoo guru and his followers. The rabbi was to be preferred in honor before his parents.[3] Probably in a similar manner, John gathered about him his disciples, taught them his doctrines, and gave them prayers to recite.[4]

Let us now return to Galilee. According to Luke, Jesus began his public work when he "was about thirty years of age."[5] According to what we have already pointed out, this was in all probability between the two dates, 23 and 28 A.D. Though from this time on, we have more details of his life, every one knows our sources of information are extremely scanty. We know that he also gathered about him a band of disciples. Twelve of them stood in especial relation to him, and have been known in history as his apostles. With one possible exception, Judas

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mersed. The Essenes made a great deal of this rite. Vide Hommersham Cox: "First Century of Christianity," p. 266 *et seq.*

[1] This interesting point need not be further discussed, Vide Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 100 *et seq.*; Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 113 *et seq.* and 144 *et seq.*; "Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 289 *et seq.* See also, Ewald, Vol. VI. p. 160, note 1.

[2] Luke iii. 7-15. [3] Stapfer, Op. cit. p. 305. [4] Luke xi. 1.

[5] Luke iii. 23.

scariot,[1] all were from Galilee. The composition of this ittle band is interesting. Possibly one, and with a less legree of probability, two of them, James and Jude, were rothers of Jesus.[2] Two of them were probably his

Christ and His Apostles.

ousins, James and John, the sons of Zebedee. Three

[1] Judas of Karioth. There were two places of this name, one in udea and one in Galilee. Josh. xv. 25, xxi. 34; Vide Ewald, Vol. VI. . 303, note 8.

[2] This is one of the most difficult points to decide. Cf. Gal. i. 19 and ude i. 1. James' name appears in all the lists of the apostles (Math. x. 5, Mark iii. 15-19, Luke v. 13-17, Acts i. 13-15) spoken of as the son of lphæus. Jude only appears in Luke and Acts. As he is there the "son f James," perhaps this is a different Jude from the author of the Book f Jude. It would seem, however, from a number of indications, that ie brothers of Jesus did not, at first, believe on him (Math. xiv. 55-56,

others (Peter, Andrew, and Philip) were from the same little town as these two, Bethsaida on Lake Galilee;[1] one other, Nathanael (or Bartholomew),[2] was from Cana of Galilee,[3] and had thus probably not only known Jesus in his youth, but was known to the Bethsaida disciples.[4] Of the other three—Matthew, Thomas, and Simon—nothing very definite is known. Thomas seems, also, to have been from Bethsaida.[5]

As far as external appearances went, the relation between Jesus and this select band was doubtless like that of many another band in the Holy Land. His disciples called him Rabbi or Master,[6] and doubtless paid to him the deference that disciples were expected to pay their master. On his part, Jesus took pains to explain to them the doctrines he taught,[7] and prepared them to spread abroad his teachings.[8] According to Ewald, "The chief quarters of the society were fixed at Capernaum, where, probably, the house of Jesus and that of Peter also, always stood open to its members. If the society rose, in order to journey to another place, and to stay there for a time, messengers were dispatched from it to arrange before-hand for lodging. The expenses of the sustenance of the community were borne partly by the more wealthy members, and came partly from the voluntary gifts of such as took a deep interest in the work."[9] In short, we have been considering

Mark vi. 3-4, Luke xviii. 20-21, John vii. 3-7). This question will probably never be satisfactorily settled.

[1] John i. 43-44. [2] Ewald VI. p. 249. [3] John xxi. 2.

[4] John i. 45.

[5] Ibid. Matthew and Mark have Thaddeus in the place of Jude. It is surprising how little is known with certainty about the twelve apostles; cf. Giles: "Apostolic Records."

[6] John iv. 31. [7] Matth. xiii. 11, etc. [8] Matth. x. 5 *et seq.*

[9] Vol VI. p. 305.

the preliminary organization, the first beginnings of that movement destined to revolutionize the world.

A point of great historical interest now lies before us. Since Jesus made use of the ordinary customs of his time, in organizing his disciples and spreading his doctrines, what, if any, elements did he see fit to adopt from the earlier movement of John the Baptist and from the Essenic movement? The preaching of John seems to have affected Galilee. He was probably well known to the inhabitants of the lake towns, since he was related not only to Mary, the mother of Jesus, but to Salome, the wife of Zebedee, as well. Humanly speaking, he was cousin to Jesus as well as to James and John. John and Andrew, Peter's brothers, were his disciples before they were Jesus'. When Jesus was about to commence his public work, he saw fit to be baptized by John. There were present on that occasion, or in the immediate neighborhood, Peter, Philip, Nathaniel, and probably James, the brother of John. This shows that they were interested in this movement enough to come some distance from Galilee. We shall probably not err if we conclude that they were disciples of John, and consequently members of an Essenian sect.

We are also reasonably sure that Jesus adopted some of the Essenic precepts and customs. The communistic plan of life adopted with his disciples was Essenic. The councils he gave his apostles when sending them forth were Essenic. The words, "Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God," "It is hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven," "Ye cannot serve God and man," "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you," are all sayings of an Essene. So, also, are his commands to the rich young man, his precept in regard to oaths, his utterances

about marriage.[1] Nevertheless, further investigation shows that in many respects the teachings of Jesus were directly opposed to those of Essenism, and if we are to call his movement (as to its external appearance) an Essenic one, it is only by the further understanding that it widely differed from Essenism proper.

As Dr. Stapfer says: "The root-idea of Essenism, purification before God to be obtained by outward observances, was strongly combatted by Jesus. He always protested against it. He sat down to the table without having plunged in water to the great scandal of the Pharisees and Essenes who observed him; and when he said: 'Not that which entereth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which proceedeth out of the mouth,' he condemned the very principle of Essenism."[2] Perhaps we have said all that is necessary on this difficult point. If, now, we conclude that the outward arrangement, the external form, the working machinery was largely Essenic; but the teachings were independent from, even in some respects opposed to, Essenism, we believe that few will take exception to the statement.[3] If it is necessary from a human historical stand-point to characterize this movement at all, we may say that it partook, to some extent, of the eclecticism of the age;[4] the new principle introduced was

[1] Matth. xix. 11, 12. Stapfer, Op. cit. p. 468.

[2] "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 469; Dr. Lightfoot in "Epistles to the Galatians," and "Epistle to the Colossians," presents many arguments against the supposed Essenic traits in the teachings of Jesus, but cf. Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," ch. xx.

[3] According to the description of James, brother of Jesus, and head of the church at Jerusalem, given by Hegesippus, and preserved by Eusebius (History ii. 23), he was an Essene. This evidence, as will be shown later, must be accepted with caution, and further it tells us nothing of the doctrines taught. As James was the head of the church, he must fairly represent it. This is a strong confirmation of the statement just made.

[4] Fisher: "History of the Christian Church," p. 12.

that it made the *heart*, the *intention*, the *will* of the person the standard by which to estimate the morality of actions. It condemned all formalism, even Essenic formalism. It set up no new code of morals. It proscribed no minute rules of conduct. It enunciated no creeds or dogmas. Using a well-known figure of speech, it declared that men must be re-born, must commence a new life, determined to love their neighbors as themselves, to guard well the heart (the intention or will), for out of it proceeded the issues of life and death, that is to say, there was the standard by which their actions were to be weighed.[1]

We shall give no especial outline of the teachings of Jesus; but pass at once to the tragedy of his death. We do not know the year of his death with certainty. Eminent authorities vary in date from the year 29 to 33 A.D.;[2] we have some slight evidence for the year 36 A.D.[3] His movement was, of course, opposed by the Sadducees and Pharisees at Jerusalem. They dreaded greatly the development of anything that bore any resemblance to Essenism. The devout were expected to pray every day, "Send thy curse, O God, upon the Nazarines."[4] The ruling classes had especially to fear any movement that would lead to popular tumults, and give the ever-watchful Romans a chance to exercise their cruel power. The en-

[1] Cf. Vol. III. pp. 786-7.

[2] Giles: "Apostolic Records;" Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 474; Ewald: "History," Vol. VI. p. 152. See, also, table in Vol. VIII. p. 366.

[3] The evidence is as follows: The Emperor Tiberius died in the spring of 37 A.D. Pilate had been ordered to appear before him on account of the massacre of the Galileans at Tirathaba; but Tiberius died before Pilate reached Rome (Josephus: "Antiquities," xvii. 4). Pilate, therefore, must have left Judea not earlier than the fall of 36. As this massacre was one of his latest acts, it could not have happened earlier than the fall of 35 or the beginning of 36. It is barely possible that this massacre was the one of which Jesus was informed. Luke xiii. 1.

[4] Jerome, quoted by Lillie.

that he knew so well how to employ—cruelty to the hapless victim, insults to the Jewish nation at large. We may be sure his spies watched every movement of Jesus from this time. The blow had been already decided upon, he was only waiting a fitting time.

For this purpose no better day could be selected than the first day of the feast, when Jerusalem was crowded with strangers. Then, indeed, was an appropriate time to make an exhibition of Roman power, to insult a hapless nation, and quench a possible revolt. The high-priest, ruling Sadducees, and influential men at Jerusalem knew of the lowering tempest; they knew that the slightest expression of sympathy from the people at large in behalf of Jesus and his movement, or the slightest opposition to the decisions of the pro-consul, would bring on the entire people the wrath of the Romans. They feared their ability to hold in check the enthusiasm of the people.[1] But one course was open to them. In the name of political expediency, if nothing else, Jesus must be sacrificed.[2] There is every reason, however, to conclude further that the principal classes just mentioned were more than willing to see this movement crushed.

All know the result. Jesus was arrested, delivered over to Pilate, by him at once condemned to death. He was both scourged and crucified, a punishment only meted out to the lowest criminals of Rome. This shows us how enormous was his offence in the eyes of the Roman pro-consul. Over his head, was placed the insulting inscription, "King of the Jews."

But no human power could avail to head off the movement that had been started. For some centuries, it had

[1] Luke xxii. 1.

[2] John xi. 47-54. There was a world of sad truth in the speech of Caiaphas.

been gathering force. In the fullness of time, the great leader and teacher had appeared. In short, Christianity was now started on its mission. The work now lying before us is to trace the development of doctrines claimed to have been taught by Jesus. We are to watch the growth of Christianity until it embraces the world; we want to notice the conflict of ancient Christianity and the Gnostic sects, the rise and glittering triumph of the Church, go with it into the centuries of medieval times, and witness the growth of those principles which finally led to that great movement known as the Reformation.

In these pages, we have made an earnest and conscientious endeavor to set forth the conflicts of various beliefs in Western Asia, which were preparing the ground for the reception of the truths of Christianity. We have set forth in a kindly spirit what seems to us to be the facts of the case. As the pages are passing through the press, our attention has been called to the following words from the pen of an eminent theologian and scholar of the day,[1] which seem to us to be so true that we hasten to give them expression. "The more the great historic religions of the world are studied in their genesis and their relation to the people who were influenced by them, the more truth, beauty, and good are found in them. They had their appropriate task in preparing the nations of the world for the higher religion when it should come to them in the fullness of time."

[1] Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., Davenport professor of Hebrew in the Union Theological Seminary. "Messianic Prophecy," New York, 1886, p. 4.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Development of Christianity.

INTRODUCTION—Political State of the World—Condition of Sciences—Superstions of the Age—Religious Culture—Belief in a Trinity, Wide Spread—Jewish Belief on this Point—Cause of this Belief—Peculiar Standing of the Second Person in the Trinity—Baptism—The Eucharist—Symbols—Heathen Morality—Sources of Information—Contemporary Writers Silent on this Movement—Organization of the Ebionite Church—Beliefs of the Ebionite Church—How Influenced by Phariseeism—The Essenic Wing of the Church—Influence of the Same—Early History of Paul—Independence of Paul—Barnabas—The Beliefs of Paul—Differences of Opinion between Paul and the Other Apostles—Organization of the Church—Same as the Synagogue—Sunday—Belief in Regard to the Millenium—Gnosticism—Influence of Gnosticism on Christianity—The Catholic Church—Trinitarian Controversies—Arianism—External Development of Christianity—Persecutions of the Church—Growth in Power of the Roman Church—The Reformation—General Outlines of the Same—The Waldenseans—Rise of the Mendicant Monks—Frederick II.—Wycliffe—John Huss—Luther—Zwingli—John Calvin—Conclusions.

THE night passes into the day, as the Spring with its flowers and songs grows into the fruitful Summer; so does the world in one stage of culture take on the beliefs of the succeeding and higher plane. Old customs become modified or absolete, bits of old superstitious belief are dropped, clearer ideas as to the great world at large are embraced, from new vantage ground a better understanding is obtained of the laws of science. So, from time to time, the world arouses to the fact that a great advance in culture has been made. The old has passed away, and with it has gone some of the ignorance and superstitions of former generations.

These statements apply to every department of culture, but not to an equal degree. We have before remarked that all religions are conservative. Hence it is that in this direction change is always slow. Many thousands of years passed away before just ideas of the nature of God and his government were enunciated. Taking our stand on this statement, that God has at all times and places done all that infinite wisdom saw fit to do in advancing man in this matter, we have not hesitated in inquiring into the history of growth in this department of culture.

In the preceding chapter we have traced the development of the three centuries, ending with the crucifixion of Jesus. We have now to deal with a more important period in the culture-history of the world. When the sun went down on Calvary, and the terror-stricken apostles sought safety in flight, bold indeed would have been the prophet who ventured to assert that in three centuries the Roman Empire would acknowledge the Christian religion as the state religion. Yet that is what came to pass. What we want to do now is to survey the marvelous developments of those centuries, and gain a clear understanding of the stages of growth ending with the formation of the Catholic Church. From the Galilean Rabbi with his twelve fishermen apostles, to the Church at the time of Constantine with its splendid organization plainly forshadowing its coming greatness under the lead of the mitered bishop of Rome, how great the change!

We must now address ourselves to a study of the various steps of this development. We will find that confusion, doubt, and contradictory statements surround nearly every question we have to consider. Scholars, eminent for their learning, came to directly opposite conclusions in many instances. We must, therefore, with

are and consideration take our way across this debatable round. Let us first inquire as to the general state of the orld at large, as to both science and religion.

Tiberius was the emperor of Rome when Jesus was ucified. The empire was then at the zenith of her ower. It is true her boundaries were slightly increased terwards, but her real power was never greater. The lediterranean had become a Roman lake, and the many ations contiguous to her shores had met a common fate—osorption in Rome. The petty national rivalries were tinct. This represents substantially the facts of the case uring the period in question.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this ate of affairs in the development of Christianity. The npire included in its bounds all the civilized lands of ntiquity. Egypt, with its ruined temples and memories an unfathomable past; Chaldea, whose soil had felt the ead of disciplined armies thousands of years before the ythical twins had established the foundations of the ternal City; Greece, whose poets sung long centuries fore the Latin tribes coalesced on the Tiber, were but utlying provinces of one great empire. In fact, antiquity as coming to its end in unity. One empire of apparently resistible strength had made its appearance.

The citizens of the conquered provinces of this vast npire were alike in at least one respect—the egotistical otions of their own importance had received a crushing low. They were but more and more impressed with the ct, that they were but parts of a greater whole. They had ad rudely forced on their minds that their national gods ere powerless to serve them in times of distress. Then ere was the enlightenment that always accompanies the panse of trade and commerce. Traders from all parts

ɔre going further, it is advisable to glance at the ɜtate of intellectual advance. In nothing are we ely to err than in imputing to the language of vriters our modern meaning. We must, for the ng, forget our modern culture, and put ourselves ıthy with the general intelligence of the people of ıway time. We must here distinguish between vledge of a few scholars and that of the masses of le. One of the great points in which modern cul- ɔrs from the ancient is the more general and wide of knowledge. But, at the beginning of the ı Era, and for many centuries after, the common f the people were deplorably ignorant.

ks were extremely rare, and but few could make ıem. There was no way of gathering or of dis- ng information. The people of one province of ire must have been almost totally ignorant of s going on in another. What did the inhabitants tine know about the events in Gaul or Britain? of the most ordinary branches of learning. hy, arithmetic, natural sciences must have been nknown terms to the great masses of the people. It ıat men eminent for learning in all these branches ng. Pliny, for instance, wrote thirty-seven books al history—a veritable encyclopedia. This work, ull of errors, is one of the most valuable remains ity.

abo, the geographer of antiquity, had both theoret- practical acquaintance with his subject. But it is hat only a few were acquainted with such books d. The fact is, the world has made such immense n these directions since the invention of printing almost impossible for us to conceive of the real

ust the soil in which the romantic, the wonderful, the iraculous would be sure to take root and flourish most ıxuriantly.

Now we must take into consideration the state of re-gious belief and culture outside of Palestine at the begin-ing of the first century, that is to say, throughout the oman Empire. We want to survey this field from several oints of view. Way back in old pagan times, religious ılture showed two well marked divisions or fields of study. he private religion of the masses, and the public religion f the leaders. The public religion was polytheism. here were priests and temples and rituals. Certain ays were sacred to the gods, and were celebrated with ıcrificial offerings and festival songs. But the private ligion, even from the very earliest times, had been simply ncestor Worship. The household gods were the deceased ouse-fathers. As far as private religion was concerned, ie great system of polytheism cut very little figure.

Now, we have seen in a former chapter how the better ducated classes had gradually departed in heart from the eligious culture of the people. They had adopted the idely spreading philosophical belief of the Oriental Vorld. Their teachings were veiled and shrouded in ıysteries. They were not at all understood by the masses f the people. Only by slow degrees and the exercise of reat care were candidates initiated from rank to rank. nd in some cases the deeper secrets were hid, save from select few. from even the most advanced candidates. We eed not doubt but that such initiates were to be found erywhere throughout the Roman Empire.

Now the point to be noticed is, that the general mass the people had been slowly advancing to this same ane of thought. The proof of this fact is the sudden

rise and spread of those forms of religion which, in a measure, voiced the teachings of the mysteries, such as the worship of Serapis and Isis, and Mithraicism. These forms of religious culture were the exact counterparts of Essenism in Judea. They were due to the same wave of Oriental philosophy spreading to the west, on the one hand colored by polytheism, on the other influenced by Judaism.

As a consequence, we find certain points of ritual held in common by people from one end of the Orient to the other. It is both interesting and instructive to glance at some of these beliefs and customs. The first that we need notice is the wide diffusion of a belief in a trinity or triad of gods. Nearly all systems of polytheism pass away in triads. In Brahmanism, for instance, we find the active deity believed to be a trinity, viz: Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva.[1] This triad is called the *Trimurti*. In the cavern at Elephanta, is a three-headed figure springing from one bust, to represent unity.[2] The poet and the commentator teach that these three persons, however, form but one deity. Their reply to a perplexed inquirer is: "Learn, O devotee, that there is no real distinction between us; what to you appears such is only semblance; the single being appears under three forms, but he is one."[3]

We have already mentioned the trinity worshiped in Buddhism.[4] Passing into China, Buddha was called *Fo*. Hence we understand the Chinese expression, "Fo is one person, but has three forms."[5] According to Le Compte, one of the maxims of the Taou sect in China is that "Tao, the Eternal Reason, produced one. One produced two, two

1 Siva is the same as Rudra; see Vol. III. p. 739, note 2.

2 Maurice: "Oriental Trinities," p. 372.

3 Allen: "India," p. 382. 4 Vol. III. p. 795.

5 "Bible Myths, p. 372, quoting Davis: "China," Vol. II. pp. 193, 81.

roduced three, and three produced all things."[1] Accord-ıg to Colonel Grant, the Tartars in Northern Asia had lso their trinity. "They worshiped one god under three enominations—the Creator of All Things, the God of ırmies, and the Spirit of Heavenly Love."[2] Turning to Europe, we find in Scandinavia Odin, Frey, and Thor. A riune statue representing this trinity in unity was found

Heathen Temple in Ruins.

ı Upsal in Sweden.[3] In the manuscript copies of the Edda preserved at Upsal, these three deities are represented itting on three thrones. The inquirer is told that the god itting on the lowest throne is "the lofty one," the second, it is the equal to the lofty one," and he who sits on the ighest throne is simply "the third."[4]

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[1] Maurice: "Oriental Trinities," p. 429.
[2] Ibid. 397. [3] "Bible Myths," p. 377.
[4] Maurice: "Oriental Trinities," p. 405.

We have before remarked that Egypt was the land of trinities. We found a trinity in the Jewish Kabbalah. We are told that both the Assyrians and Phœnicians worshiped a trinity. In fact, there was no article of belief more widely spread than that of a divine triad.[1] Here, it may not be out of place to make mention of the Jewish belief. Jewish scholars insist that this doctrine of the Trinity is nowhere taught in the Old Testament. The position of the Christian commentators is that, though not openly taught, it is implied in innumerable passages. Calling the Kabbalah to our aid, it becomes very clear that the latter are right. We must remember that the tendency of Semitic belief was strictly in the direction of monotheism, on the one hand, and the great danger of the Israelites of relapsing into polytheism, on the other; hence the unity of God was held up to view. Probably the triune nature of the godhead was almost wholly an esoteric article of belief.

Now it will help us to a clearer understanding of this matter to briefly consider some possible explanations for this wide-spread belief, and we will notice points of variance among different people. Probably no one explanation will answer all the difficulties. Probably many reasons could be pointed out, all assisting to bring about this conclusion. We have shown, perhaps with tiresome emphasis, the importance of heaven and earth as fetiches. Passing into polytheism, these become two of the greater gods. They become the great father and mother of all

1 Lack of space prevents a more thorough investigation of this interesting question. For a full discussion see Maurice: "Oriental Trinities." As an esoteric doctrine, this seems to have been held by all people of antiquity. Greeks, Romans, and Germans are seen to form no exception. Though nearly a century has elapsed since this book was published, its value is unimpaired.

things.[1] It is, perhaps, not difficult to understand the working of the human mind that nearly always placed with these two greater gods, another god as their son.

Perhaps this was but the lowest form of this belief, illustrated in old Chaldean, Assyrian, and Egyptian belief.[2] But advancing intelligence frees itself from such a conception of unity, and comes to consider these three gods as separate but equal beings. This fairly represents the so-called trinities in many cases, although even here the old idea still retains its influence; one of these gods still represents the masculine element, one the feminine, and the third holds a mediatorial position between gods and men. Probably the so-called Scandinavian trinity belongs to this class.[3]

But as the idea of monotheism advances, these three gods mysteriously blend into one. This was the stage reached in nearly all the cases we have thus far discussed. Finally, as philosophy begins to grapple with this question, the Infinite First Cause is conceived as lying back even of this triune god. We know this was the case in Brahmanism.[4] It was probably so in the philosophical system of Plato.[5] This was the belief of the Alexandrian school,[6] and of the Jewish Kabbalah.[7] And here we should note the doctrine of the Taou sect; Eternal Reason lay back of all. Finally the doctrine of emanation springs up, the triad of gods composing the active trinity are but emanations from the First Cause. But, as showing the tenacity of old beliefs, we need only remark that, of these successive

[1] Vol. II. p. 336 *et seq.*; pp. 384 and 385; p. 516; Vol. III. p. 729.
[2] Vol. II. pp. 519, 695-6.
[3] Wilder, Payne Knight: "Mythology," p. 169.
[4] Vol. III. p. 739.
[5] The Demiurge of Plato was a trinity; vide Ueberwig, Vol. I. p. 123.
[6] Cf. "The Cherubim," Allegories of the Law, ii. 1.
[7] "Kabbalah Unveiled."

emanations, some are masculine and some feminine. This subject will be considered again in treating of the Gnostics.

Another point of interest in regard to these ancient trinities must be examined. Going back to the primitive belief when the trinity was god, goddess, and offspring, it is, perhaps, not difficult to see why the offspring, the son of the god, should be regarded as the special protector of men. He was the mediator between god and man. Thus, in Chaldea, we find prayers and supplications addressed, not to Hea, but to his son, Mirri-dugga.[1] This conception was never lost; in all the trinities some one appears as mediator, the especial friend of man; Vishnu in India, Thor in Scandinavia, Mithras in Persia, illustrate this point. We have already seen that in a number of cases this person in the trinity was called the Logos. To what was said above, we need only add, that in Egyptian belief the Logos was regarded as a great mystery. The god Thoth was sometimes called the Logos.

Regarding this person of the trinity as the mediator and friend of man, it is not singular that in some cases the belief had arisen that he had from time to time consented to become incarnate in man, and pass an earthly life in elevating their condition. In earlier times, it was common to believe of any eminent personage that he was the son of a god. When advancing intelligence discarded these stories, religious belief in some instances still held that these gods had passed a mortal life on earth. It is well known that the Hindoos believe there have been a number of avatars of Vishnu. Though, perhaps, only one, Crishna, ought to be regarded as a true incarnation; in the other cases only a part of the deity was bestowed on the mortal. Some of these avatars are purely mythical; some

[1] Vol. II. p. 697.

are, perhaps, historical personages, though a vast amount of mythical incidents has been connected with their lives. Guatama Buddha is supposed to be the ninth incarnation of Vishnu.

In Buddhism itself we have seen that each Buddha was an incarnation, not indeed of a god, but of a pre-existing angelic being. One more curious point must now be touched upon. We have seen that in all the earlier trinities the goddess appears. We can easily understand why this goddess worship should tenaciously survive into higher forms of culture. In quite a number of triads she still retained her place. And in other cases she survived in another form. At any rate, the worship of the Virgin Goddess was one of the most wide spread worships in the Orient. We have spoken of the worship of Isis, represented with the infant Horus in her arms. The Etruscan worshiped a Virgin goddess with a child in her arms.[1] Almost all the goddesses of ancient Greece and Rome were at times and places dignified with such titles as "Virgin Queen of Heaven," "Mother of God," etc.[2] In the cases of the incarnations we have just mentioned, of course the mothers of the holy children were holy and sacred persons. We need only recall what was said of the mother of Buddha,[3] and state that similar beliefs were entertained in regard to the mother of Crishna, one of the avatars of Vishnu, and of Myrrha, the mother of Bacchus. The latter was called the "Queen of Heaven," and was represented with the infant saviour (Bacchus) in her arms.

Leaving this field, let us treat of some of the rites and ceremonies common throughout the Orient. The statement has already been made that baptism was a very common

[1] Inuman: "Ancient Faiths," p. 101.
[2] Vide "Bible Myths," pp. 332-3
[3] Vol. III. p. 802.

of the society in which they were born until they were baptized. Of course, religion was the department of culture that early secured control of this movement. A short time after birth, the infant was baptized, and the name was formally bestowed on him. We know this to have been the state of affairs among nearly all the nations of Northern Europe.

In both Greece and Rome the case was similar. The child was not a member of the joint-family until it had been adopted by the house-father.[1] "The goddess *Nundina* took her name from the ninth day, on which day all male children were sprinkled with holy water, as females were on the eighth, at the same time receiving their pagan names."[2] The pagan priests gave a certificate of such baptism, and spoke of the child, born "in original sin and the wrath of God," being regenerated by the laver of baptism. In Mongolia and Thibet, the Buddhist priests go through quite a ceremony when the child is baptised. "Candles burn, and incense is offered on the domestic altar, the priest reads the prescribed prayers, dips the child three times in water, and impresses on it a name."[3]

But baptism was not confined to childhood. In general it tended to mark a new beginning in a moral life. Thus, in all the heathen mysteries, the candidate on his admission was baptised, after which he was said to be regenerated.[4] In the Egyptian mysteries of Isis, the candidate was baptised by the attending priest, and purification and forgiveness of sins were supposed to be the result.[5] In Egyptian hieroglyphics, a very expressive sign is used for

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[1] Vide Coulanges: "The Ancient City," p. 67; Hearn: "The Aryan Household," p. 73.

[2] Taylor: "Diegesis," p. 233. [3] "Bible Myths," p. 317.

[4] Mackey: "Encyclopedia of Freemasonry," pp. 222, 247, 341.

[5] Apuleius: "Milesis," taken from "Bible Myths," p. 319.

baptism, "the waters of purification."[1] It was one of the rites adopted by all of the religions of antiquity. The Jewish proselyte was baptised before admitted to all the rights of Judaism. When this rite had been bestowed on him, he was said to be "born again."[2]

When a Buddhist monk was initiated, after a confession of sin and much catechising, the candidate was baptized. This operation is called the "Whole Birth."[3] The candidate into the ranks of Mithraicism was also baptized.[4] We have not yet exhausted the purificatory rites of water. In front of the heathen temples were placed marble vases concontaining lustral water. The priest stood at the door, in his hand a branch of laurel or olive tree, which he dipped into the water and sprinkled all who entered the door.[5] In fact, the idea that baptism conferred some sort of virtue, irrespective of the disposition of the candidates, proceeded to such lengths that such writers as Ovid and Cicero condemned it as an unworthy superstition.[6] We need simply remark that in several cases we catch glimpses of baptism by fire as well as by water. In Greece and Rome, the child was carried three times around the sacred fire;[7] while adults jumped three times through the flames. In this latter form, baptism by fire is still employed in India.[8]

Let us trace out one more custom, taking its rise in a primitive stage of culture, but surviving into higher forms of religious belief. In the stage of fetichism, we have seen the people choosing various inanimate things for

1 Bonwick: "Egyptian Belief," p. 416.
2 Cox: "First Century of Christianity," p. 274.
3 Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 81.
4 Mackey, Op. cit. p. 503.
5 Smith: "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," Art. "Chernips." 6 Taylor: "Diegesis," p. 233.
7 Coulanges: "The Ancient City," p. 67.
8 "Bible Myths," p. 324.

adoration. In some cases, plants were thus worshiped. We know that the early Aryans of India thus reverenced the soma plant. It was their god. They made from it an intoxicating drink. To partake of a cup of this drink was a religious rite, it was really drinking their god. "O Soma, immortal, may we drink of thee and be immortal like thee" is their wish.[1] But we have seen that fetiches could be made. We know that the Mexicans made paste figures of their god, and eating that, thought that they were literally eating their god.[2] Explain it how you will, the fact remains that this idea—that certain sacrifices, offered, become literally part of the deity, and hence a most meritorious thing to eat and drink them—survived into almost all the religions of the Orient. In the earlier belief, the earth itself was a deity. Hence, all that was produced was a part of that deity. This notion was kept alive on certain feast days, when what was eaten was regarded as literally part of the god. This is the meaning of Arnobius, when describing those who took part in the Bacchanalian feasts, he declares, "they thought they received the fullness of God's majesty when they tore and ate struggling rams."

But such crude conceptions as these soon disappeared. Wine or water, or simple cakes of bread and rice, took the place of other victims. The point to be noticed is, that when these simple articles were duly consecrated, they were believed to be literally parts of the god. When the ancient Egyptians celebrated the myth of the death and resurrection of Osiris, little round cakes, marked with a St. Andrew's cross, were placed upon the altar. When blessed by the priest it was supposed to become a part of the

[1] Baring-Gould: "Religious Belief." Vol. I. p. 401.
[2] Bancroft: "Native Races," Vol. III. p. 299.

veritable Osiris; it was then broken by the priest and given to the assembled multitude, portions being carried to absent members.[1] In extremely early sculptures from Sanchi, we see cakes ranged by the side of a vase, and in other cases groups are adoring rice cakes.[2] In Thibet, the Grand Lama blesses the bread and wine, partakes of a portion, and then it is passed around.[3] Judging from the statements just made as to early Buddhism, this consecrated bread and wine is regarded as a part of deity. Prodicus tells us that the ancients worshiped bread as Demeter, and wine as Dionysus, therefore, when they ate the bread and drank the wine, after it had been consecrated, they thought they were eating the flesh and drinking the blood of their god.[4] It is, perhaps, sufficient to remark that in the worship of Mithras as celebrated at Rome, there was also a sacrament of bread and wine. The early church fathers spoke of it as being exactly the same as their own sacrament.[5] Among the Essenes, we might remark that they celebrated every day this sacred meal.

Now, it may not be out of place to consider the subject of symbols. What signs were used to express these various ideas? The cross was one sign in very common use. This is so generally known and admitted on all sides that we need not dwell on it. The probabilities are that quite a number of new ideas found expression in the symbol of the cross. One was probably that of the generative powers. The Egyptian key of life and death, seen on some of the most ancient monuments is substantially the same

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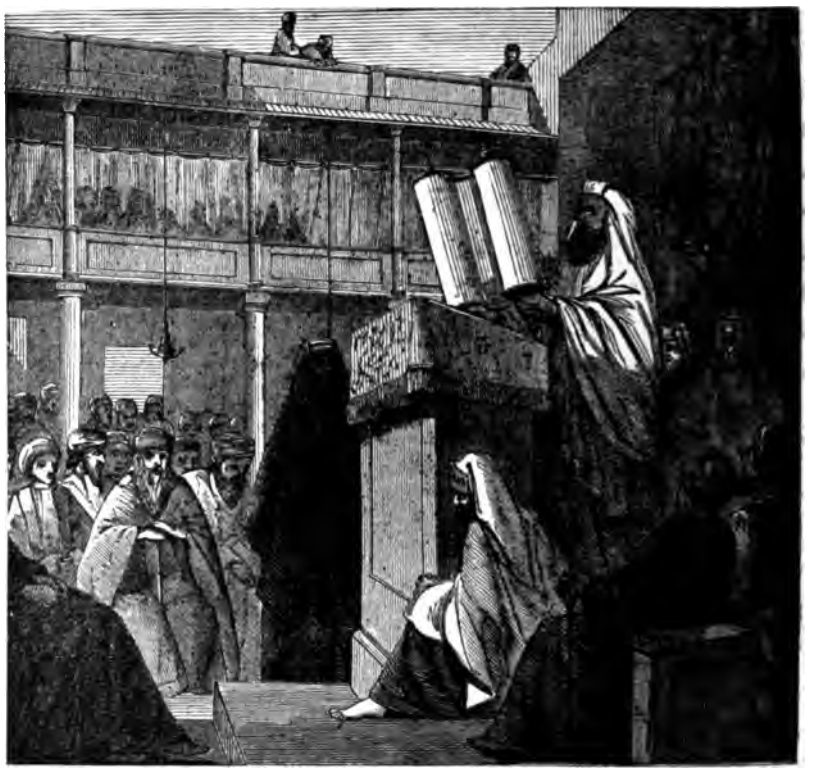
[1] Bonwick: "Egyptian Belief," pp. 163, 417.
[2] Lillie: "Buddhism in Christendom," p. 83.
[3] "Bible Myths," p. 306.
[4] Ibid. 309; vide also Taylor: "Diegesis," p. 214.
[5] Justin Martyr: "Apology," quoted in King: "Gnostics," and other places.

symbol.[1] The idea of a trinity in unity was represented in a great variety of ways, such as the triangle, the clover leaf, etc. Some of these, in an earlier age of the world, undoubtedly represented Phallic symbolism.[2] The various personages of the triad received separate symbols. The feminine element was generally represented by the dove. Juno, Astarte, Cybele, Isis, and other important goddesses are often represented with a dove.[3] Quite a number of symbols were connected with the second or mediatorial members of the triad. The serpent was sometimes used as such a symbol. Why this should be so used is useless to discuss in the limited space at our command. Probably a great many conceptions here combine; primitive mythology, ancient Phallic symbolism, alike were satisfied by the use of this symbol. We know that the serpent was the special symbol of the worship of Bacchus.[4] In Egyptian belief, though appearing in the worship of many deities, it was the especial symbol of Thoth,[5] this god was sometimes called the *Logos*.[6] In India the serpent is also intimately associated with Vishnu.[7] And it is well to recall that Alexandrian philosophy made the brazen serpent of Moses significant of the Word. The fish was another emblem referring to this same person of the triad. The Hindoos believe that the first appearance of Vishnu was in the form of a fish.[8] In China, Buddha is sometimes called the "Fish-Buddha."

Now that we have spent some time in considering the externals of pagan beliefs, it may be well to glance at their

[1] Vide Vol. II. cuts pp. 471, 485, 490, 498, 534, etc.
[2] Vide Innman: "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism."
[3] Lundy: "Monumental Christianity," p. 293.
[4] Wake in: "Ancient Symbol Worship," p. 39.
[5] Ibid. 40. [6] Bonwick, Op cit. p. 404.
[7] Wake, Op. cit. p. 72.
[8] Williams: "Religious Thought in India," p. 107.

morals. In the first stage of culture, religion was not at all connected with morality. But, from that point on, the two came more and more into harmony. It is easy to talk about the immorality of pagan beliefs, but, taken as a whole, there is little doubt that all systems of religion have tended to emphasize the necessity of morality. The priesthood at



Worship in the Synagogue.

all times and places, have, as a whole, been an influence for good. Viewed at this distance, in both time and culture, it is easy to see much in the beliefs of the pagan nations of the first century of our era that seems to us strange, grotesque, and even abominable. Much of this information comes to us through prejudiced channels, and we

to be candid enough to reflect on certain general
les that were as strong then as now.
ıe human heart, the heart that fears and loves and
was constituted then as now. There was certainly
hropy as well as philosophy, love as well as selfish-
here must have been living, here and there, pure
ıtle souls, who sorrowed with others in their sorrow,
lives made the world better. There was more of
ı the world than of evil. Inasmuch as what we call
ım had been one of the factors that had served to
ı man from lowest savagism to a high state of civiliza-
e must admit that its tendency was not downward.
ack in old Assyrian times there were souls who felt
ıed by sin, and longed for deliverance. There were
ople in all periods of history, and it is not for us to
y were denied this boon. The Infinite Father is near
ho seek after him. The following fragment of a beau-
mn to Venus, tells of spiritual victory won :[1]

" Thy adoring vot'ry, I
In thy faith will live and die;
And, when Jove's supreme command
Calls me to the Stygian strand,
I no fear of death shall know,
But with thee contented go;
Thou, my goddess, thou, my guide,
Bear me through the fatal tide;
Land me on th' Elysian shore,
Where nor sin, nor grief is more—
Life's eternal blest abode,
Where is virtue, where is God."

t us now leave this direction of inquiry and return

lor: "Diegesis," p. 241.

to Palestine. We have now cleared the way and made an earnest effort to place ourselves in sympathy with the thoughts of the age. Probably those who have never had occasion to investigate this question, feel a little surprised, if not incredulous at the results. We think we have fairly stated the facts of the case. We must leave the result to the good judgment of the reader. Probably the easiest explanation is, that Christianity did not go forth claiming to teach doctrines and ideas before unheard of, but simply took many of the beliefs, rites, and ceremonies of the heathen world, freed them from error, and taught a more excellent way. We will not dwell on this suggestive thought. Quotations could be here given from the early fathers showing that they regarded the matter in this light.[1]

Before proceeding to learn what we can of the development of Christianity, it may be advisable to refer to the sources of information. In the New Testament we have the "Acts of the Apostles," giving us some history, but by no means a full account of events, down to about the year 65 A.D. From the Apostolic writings, some further details may be obtained; almost nothing in this way can be gathered from Revelations, though we can gather details of belief. As to the value of the information to be obtained from the sources just named, there is unfortunately considerable dispute among scholars whose ability and honesty of purpose is unquestioned. The day for blind credulity is passed, and on all sides it is admitted that we are at liberty to ask certain questions in regard to these books and their authors, questions which an earlier and a more

[1] St. Augustine states, that what had become known as Christianity, was known to the ancients, and had not been wanting from the beginning of the human race.—Taylor: "Diegesis," p. 42.

intolerent age would not have allowed. In regard to Acts, for instance, who was its author, when was it written? And similarly of the Epistles, who wrote them and when? We shall make no efforts whatever to answer these questions. Were we qualified for the task, it would be impossible to give even an outline of the same. We shall try to make only such statements as will remain true, whatever the final result may be.[1]

Outside of these sources, it is certainly remarkable how little material we have, until the second century is well under way. The fact is, Christianity is not noticed in any of the writings of the first century. In some cases, the only explanation we can make of their silence is, that Christianity had nothing to distinguish it from other religious sects; they were confounded with the Essenes on the one hand, or with some such sect as the worshipers of Mithras on the other; and so escaped notice. A glance at some of the writers of the first century will show this very clearly. Philo, the Alexandrian writer and philosopher, lived during the first half of this century. He was a voluminous writer on Jewish beliefs. On one occasion, at least, he visited Jerusalem; he went once on an embassy to Rome. He makes not the slightest mention of the important religious movements in Palestine during this era.

Josephus, the Jewish writer and historian, died somewhere near the close of the first century. He wrote the history of the Jews, describes their manners and customs,

[1] The one opinion is, that these books were all written in the first century, and generally by the men whose names they bear. Commentators and men of great ability support this view. On the other hand, with the exception of the Revelations and a few Epistles of Paul, it is claimed that the books were written late in the second century, and some, as II. Peter, later still. On this side, consult "Supernatural Religion" (Vol. III.,) for the Acts. Rev. J. A. Giles ("Apostolic Records of Early Christianity") presents much historical research in this matter.

mentions the various Jewish sects, commanded the Galilean forces during the Roman war, and afterwards wrote an account of the war, yet he nowhere mentions the Christians. In two passages[1] of his works, mention is made of Christ and his brother James, but, unfortunately, it is now admitted on all sides that these two passages, especially

St. Paul Before the Council.

the former one, have been so interpolated by later Christian writers, that we do not know what the words of Josephus were.[2]

[1] "Antiquities," xviii. 3, 3; xx. 9, 1.

[2] The first passage is given up by the vast majority of scholars. No mention is made of it before the time of Eusebius. The second passage, the words "who was called Christ, named James," were, perhaps, inter-

Strabo, the geographer, who lived in the early part of this century, traveled extensively to obtain his information. In his twelfth book, he treats somewhat at length of Palestine and the Jews, but no mention is made of the Christian movement. Valerius Maximus, about the time of the crucifixion, wrote extensively on the various religions and matters therewith connected. The two Senecas were living at this time. The younger Seneca was a famous moral philosopher. He was living in Rome when St. Paul is supposed to have arrived there, and this was long after a Christian church was established in Rome; but Seneca seems to have known nothing of the new movement. The elder Pliny, the author of "Natural History," devotes considerable attention to Palestine and the Jews, describes their religious sects, etc. He took a great deal of interest in the games of the amphitheatre. He died in the year 79. In none of his writings, does he make the slightest mention of the Christians.

Now there is not the slightest doubt that the new movement inaugurated by Jesus had been continued by his apostles, and was making rapid headway, but for some reason it failed to be noticed by such a writer as Pliny, who was on the look-out for whatever was out of the ordinary run of events. As far as external appearances went, the Christians must have been confounded with the somewhat numerous similar bodies already existing in the Roman Empire. Josephus must have confounded them with the Essenes. It is, to say the least, singular that he makes not the slightest mention of such a character as Paul or of Peter, and, probably made no mention, or at most but a passing notice, of even Jesus of Nazareth.

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polated. Giles: "Apostolic Records;" p. 285; cf. Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. VI. p. 138

Let us trace very hurriedly the probable course of events after the crucifixion. Of course, the apostles, in making their re-organization after the death of Jesus, had to model after some body with which they were familiar They had to make use of existing copies, with, perhaps, some slight changes. Now, we have pointed out that Jesus had seen fit to adopt and emphasize quite a number of Essenic precepts, maxims, and practices. It is not strange, then, that we detect quite a number of Essenic elements in the new organization. There is probably little doubt that they adopted a communistic plan of life. Converts were expected to dispose of their property and turn the proceeds into the common fund, from which they were all sustained.[1] Like the Essenes, they spent much of their time together; and doubtlesss had their holy meal in common.[2]

But their organization was much more centralized. In the first place, the apostles were at the head, but of these one, James, brother of Jesus, was virtually high-priest. His decrees were to be respected, his displeasure to be feared.[3] According to Epiphanius, James even wore the metal plate of the high-priest, and once a year entered the Holy of Holies. The churches of the first period seem to have recognized the church at Jerusalem as their head.[4] Decrees given by James through this church, were "to be kept" by the other churches.[5] But we must point out that this church departed in some respects from Essenic teachings. The Essenes did not visit the temple; accord-

[1] Acts ii. 44-45; iv. 32-34. [2] Acts ii. 42.

[3] Acts xv. 19. The true meaning of this passage is "wherefore I decree," etc. Cox: "The First Century of Christianity," p. 214: cf. Gal. ii. 12.

[4] We often see them sending subsidies or collections to Jerusalem. Acts xi. 29-30, xxiv. 17; Gal. ii. 10; Rom. xv. 26, etc.

[5] Acts xiv. 4.

ing to Acts, the apostles and leaders of this church did visit the temple daily.[1]

In fact, however strongly some factors of their external organization point to the influence of Essenism, they were still more strongly influenced by orthodox Judaism. The only distinguishing doctrines of belief were in regard to Jesus of Nazareth. The new sect believed him to be the promised Messiah; they believed he would soon come again, this time in power and glory, and usher in the Millennium age. On all other points, they seem to have been devout Jews. They visited the temple, they kept the feasts, they obeyed the law of circumcision. Gentile converts were to be treated in the same spirit that Judaism treated them.

As is well known, Judaism had two classes of proselytes. In the first class, or proselytes of the gate, were the *devout* or God-fearing persons mentioned in various parts of the New Testament; they accepted Judaism, but not all of its rules. They obeyed what the rabbis called the commands of Noah, which were seven rules drawn mainly from the Mosaic law.[2] This was regarded as a preparatory stage; attempts were afterwards made to induce them to submit to circumcison, in which case they were addressed as *righteous*. It is interesting to observe that a liberal party in Judaism thought that the first stage was sufficient.[3] In the case of the new community at Jerusalem, of which James was the head, they finally consented to accept the Gentile converts as proselytes of the first class. The four rules they imposed on them[4] were the only important ones out of the seven Judaism had

[1] Acts ii. 46.
[2] Leviticus xvii. 8-16, xviii. 27; cf. Ewald, Vol. VII. p. 311.
[3] Joseph: "Antiq." xxii. 3-4. [4] Acts xv. 29.

imposed.[1] Like orthodox Judaism, they, for a long while at least, urged them to be circumcised.[2]

The word, "Christian" was unknown in Palestine and elsewhere for a number of years after the crucifixion. This new sect seem to have been called *Ebionites*, the word properly meaning the poor, and, perhaps, was bestowed

Arch of Constantine.

in the first place by way of derision.[3] We have no reason

[1] The rabbis made seven rules. In adition to the four adopted by the Jerusalem church, they forbade the observance of idolatry, the blasphemy of the true God, and commanded them to acknowledge the courts of justice. Ewald, VII. p. 311; cf. Bauer: "Church History," Vol. I. p. 109.

[2] They persisted in wanting Paul's converts to be circumcised. Cf. Galatians.

[3] Cf. Ewald, Vol. VIII. p. 152.

to conclude that this body was greatly disliked by the more orthodox party, as we will soon see. We have seen that to this body the apostles belonged, and were, as was but natural, the leaders. They seem to have lived in Jerusalem, and the most of them probably never thought of extending their labors outside the bounds of Palestine. In a subsequent time, this Ebionite church, from its narrow Judaistic stand-point, became stigmatized as *heretics*.[1] It is, of course, possible that in process of time they departed from some of their first practices, responding more readily to Jewish influence.

Now this Ebionite church was quite removed from the Catholic church. What are some of the steps of advance by which the one grew into the other? When we reflect what an amount of ripe scholarship has been brought to bear on this one point, we naturally suppose that all this has been quite clearly traced out. On the contrary, scholars eminent for their ability and learning, and whose honesty of purpose no one need question, come to opposite and even contradictory conclusions. Statements, therefore, on this point, must be made with caution and with due allowance for opposite conclusions, and must be accepted in the same spirit.

Let us inquire from what direction this new movement was liable to influence. On the one hand, there were the customs and beliefs of the so-called pagan world. We have just been discussing their religious culture. This growing movement must soon come in contact with the religious culture of the heathen world, and would inevitably be influenced by the same. The new movement must also come in contact with the great Jewish sects, with the Pharisees on the one hand and with Essenism on the

[1] Eusebius: "History," xxvii.

other. We all must admit that these contacts would take place, and it is simply unreasonable to claim that nascent Christianity would not have its course of development influenced by the same.

In the first place in regard to Phariseeism. There are not wanting those who insist that Christianity arose out of Phariseeism.[1] This was doubtless one of the factors of the new movement. For the Pharisees must have found much to commend in the teachings of Jesus. They are represented as often in his company, and interested in his sayings.[2] At times, his words met there warm commendation.[3] When he purified the temple of the money changers,[4] we need not doubt that this act met the hearty approval of the strict Pharisees. We hear of their warning him in time of danger.[5] It is true he found much to condemn in Phariseeism, and as if fearful of their influence on his movement, he repeatedly warned his disciples against the "leaven of the Pharisees."[6]

For we can easily see, that such influence would tend to throw round the new church many Jewish notions that would seriously cripple its usefulness. If it was to be an universal religion, it was first of all necessary to cut free from some Jewish customs. We think that it was this influence that held the Ebionite Christians in the old grooves, and, perhaps, caused a return to ideas from which, in the first instance, they had freed themselves. Whatever may be the facts of the case, we know that the stricter Ebionites observed the Sabbath and other discipline of the Jews, and thought the observance of the law was still necessary.[7] They furthermore thought that Jesus was the

[1] Kuenen: "Hibbert Lectures," 1882.
[2] Matth. ix. 11, xii. 2, xv. 1; Mark vii. 1; Luke vii. 36, xiv. 1; John iii. 1, *et seq.* [3] Luke xx. 39. [4] Matth. xxi. 12. [5] Luke xiii. 31.
[6] Matth. xvi. 6; Mark viii. 13, etc. [7] Eusebius xxvii.

natural son of Joseph and Mary, and was distinguished as the Messiah simply by his advance in virtue. They rejected the writings of Paul, and accepted the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

We will not dwell longer on the Ebionites, nor will we attempt to decide how many of the beliefs just laid down are to be considered as the beliefs of the primitive church, and how many as due to the influence of subsequent Jewish converts. Strong assertions are made on both sides of this interesting question. Neither will we make further inquiries as to the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Quite eminent scholars think that it was the original Hebrew form of the Gospel according to Matthew. It did not contain the first two chapters of our Matthew, and in many respects varied from the present gospel of Matthew. It is generally admitted to be one of the oldest gospels extant.[1]

Thus, in Judaism itself, we find this new organization exposed on the side of Phariseeism to conservative, if not retrogressive, influence. But when we turn to consider Essenism, we see at once an influence tending in the other direction. We must recall the main outlines of Essenism, their allegorizing attitude in regard to the Old Testament; their probable conception of the Messiah, a supernatural angelic being; and their belief that the kingdom of heaven was near at hand. We have seen that the external organization of this new movement was largely Essenic. It is somewhat singular that the Essenes are not mentioned in the New Testament. We have seen that, though Jesus

[1] Consult Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. VIII. p. 128-152. A good outline of this gospel is contained in "History of the Christian Religion," by C. B. Waite, Chicago, 1884, chap. ix.; also vide "Superanatural Religion," Vol. I. p. 419 *et seq.*

had uttered most scathing condemation of the Phaisees,[1] yet the Pharisees found much to commend in his teachings. These remarks apply with still greater force to the Essenes. As Ewald observes, "no other party in the old community

Interior of St. Peter's at Rome.

stood, fundamentally, so near Christianity as that of the Essenes."[2]

It is almost certain that large numbers of the Essenes at an early day embraced Christianity. We seem to catch

[1] Math. xxiii. 13 *et seq.*
[2] "History of Israel," Vol. VIII. p. 144.

clear traces of this in the Acts. We read of a sudden and almost unaccountable increase in the church. When it was first publicly proclaimed, that Jesus had risen from the dead, and that he was the Messiah, we read of three thousand addition to the church, and in a few days thereafter, the number was said to be about five thousand.[1] From what body was this large accession most liable to come? There can be but one answer to this question, the Essenes. Josephus tells us there were about four thousand Essenes in Palestine.[2] They were expecting the coming of the kingdom of heaven. They probably claimed this whole movement as originating in their ranks. The immediate disciples of Jesus were claiming with great zeal and earnestness that he had triumphed over death and was the expected Messiah. Nothing is more likely, then, than that this large addition was mainly from the Essenes.

And as if to prove the whole matter, let us refer to the first persecution. In those days, we are told, when the number of believers were multiplying, there arose a dispute between the Hellenistically inclined believers, and the stricter Hebrews.[3] We have seen that the word *Hellenism* is a general expression meaning the movement in favor of Oriental philosophy.[4] In a true sense, the whole mystical movement in Palestine could be called Hellenic. Hence it becomes almost certain these "Hellenistically inclined believers" were Essenes. Continuing the investigation, we next read of the introduction of a new office in the church, stewards or serving men, afterwards called deacons. It is suggestive to say the least, that Josephus

[1] Acts ii. 41; iv. 4. [2] "Antiq." xviii. 1, 5.

[3] We submit that this sentence correctly expresses the meaning of Acts vi. 1. "*Helleniston pros tous Hebraious*," means "Hellenistically inclined Hebrews."

[4] Above, p. 564.

tells us of the Essenes, that they have "stewards appointed to take care of their common affairs."[1]

Let us inquire, in what direction their influence would be thrown. Here we observe that we need not say they would introduce new ideas, but we simply inquire as to what ideas they would strengthen. There need be no question on this point. They would emphasize the divinity of Christ. They would insist on his pre-existing life in heaven. They would transfer to him all mystical expression regarding Wisdom, or the Logos. This one sublime personage would draw to himself all the previously floating beliefs in this matter. In proof of this, we need only refer to the recorded speech of Stephen. He identified Jesus with the angel who appeared to Moses in a flame of fire in a bush; he was the prophet whom Moses foretold; he was with the church in the wilderness; he was the angel who spoke to him on Mt. Sinai; he was with the fathers who received living oracles to give unto the people. We have abundantly shown that this was the reasoning of Hellenism as to the expected Messiah, and this seems to settle whence this large accession came, and the direction of its influence.[2]

Here, then, we see that in Judaism itself the new movement was exposed to two counter influences; one conservative, if not reactionary, in the direction of orthodox Judaism; the other away from this stand-point and more in favor of the general trend of advanced religious thought of the times. We must not forget that the Essenes were much disliked and feared by the other parties in Palestine. We must keep in mind the curse hurled at the mystical

[1] Wars, II. viii. 3.

[2] To catch the full force of this argument, see above, pp. 571, 578, 581, 587

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movement by the devout Jews.[1] Hence, when persecution broke out, it was not so much against the Ebionite church, the church of the apostles, as against the Essenic wing. In the persecution that followed the death of Stephen, we read that the church was "scattered abroad," *except the apostles*,[2] who remained at Jerusalem.[3] There can be but one explanation of this exception. The apostles and the Ebionites generally visited the temple daily,[4] and were not regarded with great disfavor. The case was different with the "Hellenistically inclined believers."

Now, in approaching the consideration of the influence likely to come from the religious culture of the outside world, we must first make a general observation. Essenism was but the Jewish form of a general stage of religious culture at that time almost general throughout the Orient. The waves of this movement had indeed overrun Palestine, but the Essenic Jews were still Jewish in many respects. They still held numerous one-sided ideas of the importance of certain Jewish customs, such as circumcision. To become a Jew was still an important and almost necessary step in becoming a Christian. It was necessary to advance beyond this idea. This introduces us to Paul, who accomplished the important work of advancing Christianity to the stage of an universal religion.

In treating of such an eminent personage as Paul, it may be well to ask whether we have any information of him outside of the New Testament. All of the contemporary history we have of that time is silent concerning him. It has been thought by some Jewish scholars that the Jewish Talmud mentions him under the name of Acher, and it is really surprising what an amount of evi-

[1] Above, p. 609. [2] Acts viii. 1. [3] Acts viii. 14. [4] Acts ii. 46.

dence is offered on this point.[1] It is, to be sure, not very important; but, if this be true, some details can thus be gathered of his early life. He had the reputation, rare at that time in Palestine, of being a Greek scholar. "Grecian poetry did not fail upon his lips," says the Talmud.[2] While yet a student at college, when he rose up to speak, "many books of the unbelievers dropped from his lap."[3] He chose as his master Gamaliel,[4] and studied to be a rabbi, but was converted to Christianity. The Talmud ascribes this important event to the cruel death of an innocent person.[5]

Battle-field of the Crusades.

The Talmud speaks of this conversion as the "apostasy" of Acher. It speaks of him afterward as "known all over the earth." It also speaks of him as being once in ecstasy carried up into heaven.[6] We might remark that the poet Lucian, writing in the early part of the second century.

[1] Vide Wise: "The Origin of Christianity," ch. ix.

[2] Cf. Acts xvii. 28. [3] Wise, Op. cit. p. 314. [4] Cf. Acts xxii. 3.

[5] Perhaps, here is a Talmudic reference to the death of Stephen. The Jewish name of the personage, whose death effected the conversion of Acher, signifies the "steward." [6] Cf. II. Cor. xii. 1 *et seq.*

makes one of his characters describe Paul as "The Galilean . . . that bald-headed, long-nosed man, who trod the air into the third heaven."[1]

Turning to New Testament sources, we learn that Paul was born in Tarsus of Cilicia, and was educated at Jerusalem.[2] He belonged to the sect of the Pharisees,[3] and was very zealous in his work. He was one of the official witnesses of the death of Stephen,[4] and was soon after converted on his way to Damascus, whence he was journeying to persecute the church. The first question coming up is, which party in the early church was the one with which Paul cast his influence? On investigation, we will learn that apparently he agreed with neither. He adopted the Essenic teachings as far as they would go, but cut loose from many of their one-sided views. His excellent education, his strong mental powers, his whole past life, rendered him fit to be a leader and not a follower. He was naturally independent, he scorned to build on another man's foundation,[5] and he was not at all afraid to speak his convictions.[6]

We want to notice first, that after his sudden conversion at Damascus, whither he had gone to persecute the Essenic wing of the church, he went away at once to Arabia. By this phrase we are to understand Arabia Petra, the very home of the Essenes. Here he seems to have spent three years.[7] It is extremely suggestive that the full term of initiation into the Essenic order was three years.[8] It was not until some fourteen years after this, or seventeen years after his conversion, that he was finally

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1 Giles: "Apostolic Records," p. 410.
2 Acts xxii. 3. 3 Acts xxvi. 5.
4 Cf. Deut. xvii. 5, and Acts vii. 58-59.
5 Rom. xv. 20. 6 Gal. ii. 11.
7 Gal. i. 17-18. 8 Josephus: "Wars," II. viii. 7.

granted the right hand of fellowship.[1] This result was reached at a council held in Jerusalem. Paul seems to have been anxious to do everything in his power to conciliate the two wings of the church; and that he was largely successful appears not only in the pages of the New Testament, but stands before us as an historical fact.

During the fourteen years of active work preceding this council, Paul seems to have met with two only of the apostles—Peter and James—and he expressly states that he was unknown by face to the churches in Judea.[2] His headquarters were at Antioch. Now it seems probable that the Church at Antioch stood in about the same relation to the Essenic churches as the Jerusalem church did to the Ebionites, save that the organization was not near as perfected and centralized. As we shall see, it was some time before anything approaching the Jewish organization was adopted in the Essenic churches. As the community at Jerusalem adopted or was known by the name of Ebionites, so the community at Antioch adopted the name of Christians.[3] Let us ask more particularly about the important members of this church.

There was first Barnabas, the one who induced Paul to come to Antioch, going to Tarsus, Paul's native city, for that purpose.[4] He seems to have foreseen the important role that Paul was destined to fill, and made mention of the wonderful work he was doing to the apostles.[5] But the church at Jerusalem distrusted the tendencies of Paul's teachings, and, as we have seen, it was not until some years later that this distrust was removed.[6] There is considerable evidence to the effect that this Barnabas, "son

[1] Gal. ii. 6-10. [2] Gal. i. 18-24.
[3] Acts xi. 26. [4] Acts xi. 24. [5] Acts ix. 27.
[6] This can be the only sense in which the apostles at Jerusalem were *afraid* of Paul. Acts ix. 26.

of consolation,"[1] is the same as the "Joseph, called Barsabbas," who was one of the two candidates for the apostleship, made vacant by the defection and death of Judas.[2] However this may be, Barnabas ranked as an apostle, and was one of the influential leaders in the church at Antioch.

He wrote a general epistle, which, though now ranked as one of the apochrypha, was cited by many of the early fathers as canonical. Examining this epistle, we find it to be full of Essenic reasoning and teachings. It makes great use of allegory in explaining the Old Testament. The three hundred and eighteen men circumcised by Abraham is a most significant number; the letters representing these numbers stand for Jesus and his cross.[3] He regards the brazen serpent, the cross, the paschal lamb, the scape goat, the red heifer, all as symbolical of Christ. He recognizes the Messiah as existing before the worlds were made.[4] Some essentially Essenic maxims are inculcated. "Thou shalt communicate to thy neighbor of all thou hast, thou shalt not call any thing thine own."[5]

Another character in this early church was Manaen, or Manahem.[6] It has been stated that this must have been the noted Essenic prophet who predicted the future reign of Herod.[7] Of another personage of this church, "Simeon, called Niger," it is barely possible that this is the same as Simon the Magus, whom the fathers regard as the first Gnostic. It is certain that after Paul had been accepted as an apostle, and the cause he represented was

[1] Acts v. 36.

[2] Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 327. Codex D, and the Ethiopian translation actually read Barnabas instead of Barsabbas in Acts i. 23.

[3] Barnabas viii. 11-14. [4] Barn. vi. 13.

[5] Barnabas xiv. 16. See this point more extensively discussed in "Angel Messiah," p. 327 *et seq.*

[6] Cf. Acts xiii. 1, and Ewald: "History of Israel," Vol. VII. p. 378.

[7] Josephus: "Antiq." XV. x. 5.

about triumphing, the figure of Simon the Magician is the one that draws to itself all the dislike of earlier years. In the Clementine Homilies, Simon, as a general name, often stands for Paul.[1] Antioch was the center of Simon's activity, and much of his teaching was Essenic, though he probably went to extremes.[2]

Preaching the Reformation.

It was among such workers that Paul was numbered.[3] Now in regard to Paul's own teachings, we have his own declaration that he now "preached the faith of which he

[1] Homily XVII. ch. xix. is unmistakable in its reference to Paul.

[2] Cf. Bunsen: "Angel Messiah," p. 181 *et seq.*; and Bauer: "Church History," Vol. I. p. 91.

[3] Acts xiii. 1.

nce made havoc,"[1] this by itself would show that he em-raced the doctrines of the Essenic wing of the church. n his defence before Felix, where he was charged with being a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes,[2] he penly confesses "that after the way which they call a eresy so worship I the God of our fathers."[3] When he rrived at Rome, we are informed that among the Jews he "sect" to which he belonged was "everywhere spoken gainst."[4] Now we have no right to assume that the Ebionite church at Jerusalem was "everywhere spoken gainst," for they were "all zealous for the law."[5] Such feeling as that, among the Jews, like charity, would over a multitude of sins.[6]

Then besides, in the writings and speeches of Paul, re have abundant testimony as to his beliefs. Let us ause to make a general observation. We have no right o assume that truth is a monopoly of any one sect, people, r age. We shall refer once more to the stand we have aken.[7] God has always been near unto those who seek im. It is no longer possible to shut our eyes to the imple truth that a part of the theology of Christianity, s well as its rites, ceremonies, and symbols was derived rom extra-Jewish sources. The idea, that everything must e either traced back to Judaism, or else be shown to be a

[1] Gal. i. 24. [2] Acts xxiv. 5. [3] Ibid. 14. [4] Acts xxviii. 22.

[5] Acts xxi. 20.

[6] In "Palestine at the time of Christ," says Stapfer, "men might hink as they liked, provided they did what was commanded. They ight be very heretical at heart, even semi-materialistic like the Sadducees, and yet be none the less good Jews, faithful Israelites, if they ulfilled the Law, recited the *Shema* and observed the Sabbath" (p. 321). The feelings habitual to an inhabitant of Palestine in the first century ay be summed up in two sentences: hatred of foreigners, and devotion o the Law." (p. 371). "The Law took precedence of everything else" p. 372). On the other hand, "all those who failed to obey the Law were uch looked down upon" (p. 368).

[7] Above, p. 618.

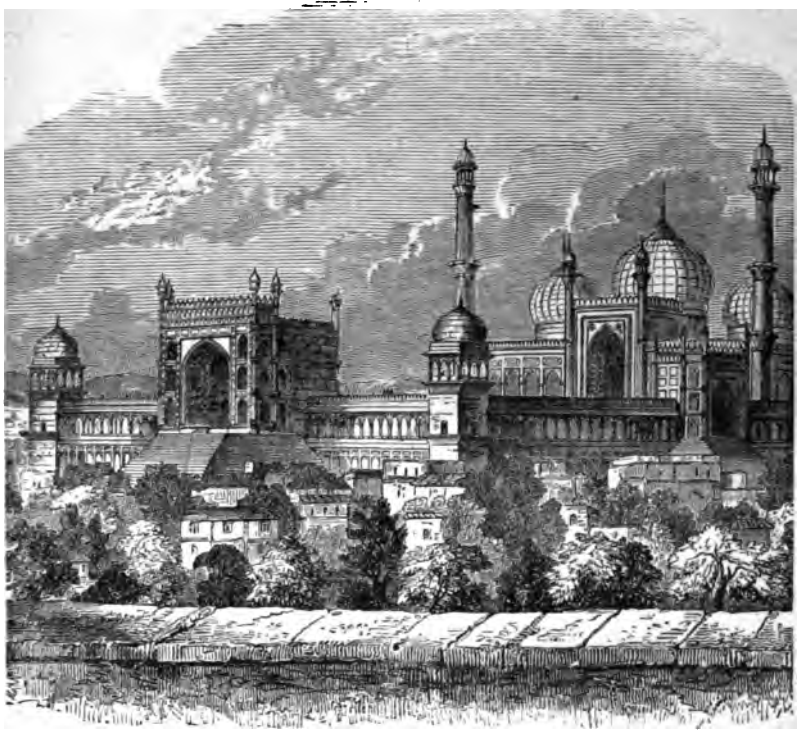
new truth first enunciated by Christ or his disciples, and that Christianity busied itself from its start in discovering to an astonished heathen world doctrines, beliefs, rites, and ceremonies, of which it had never before heard, is now seen to be an error. If allowed to use a bold figure of speech, we might say that Christianity was a precipitate. The life and teachings of Christ and his apostles found in the general religious culture of the world a vast amount of truth in solution; truths of doctrines and appropriate rites, symbols, and ceremonies. From this the purest and best coalesced as Christianity.

And herein is to be found the peculiar beauty and power of Christianity. It always draws to itself what is best and purest in the most advanced thought and culture of the age. This is the secret of its growth, and this is why it is, to-day, making such enormous strides in conquering the world. It fears no criticism, it adopts as its own the latest researches in the sciences, and asks only for truth. If the plant took root in Jewish soil, it drew to itself nourishment from the uttermost regions of the world. It is a living, growing religion, and advances from age to age, as general intelligence and culture advance. Some of its faithful adherents indeed fail to perceive this truth, and act and talk as if all advance was to be disputed, all new inquiries headed off. Their efforts are fruitless, the current flows on, they are forgotten.

Returning now to the case of Paul, we trust it will pain no one to be told that he ardently supported Essenic teachings in many respects. It is, of course, out of place to go into details on this matter. His teachings in regard to Christ and the spirit of God, about the Law, the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, the typical explanation of the rites of Judaism, the atonement, are examples of

Essenic teachings and reasoning. But the statement has been made that Paul seems to have endeavored to bring these two wings of the early church into harmony. Let us now inquire more particularly on that point.

How was Paul regarded by the church at Jerusalem? Simple honesty requires the candid statement that, for quite a number of years at least, and even after he was



The Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople.

granted the right hand of fellowship, they regarded him with suspicion, and that there was more or less friction between them. This need occasion no surprise. Human nature is persistently the same from age to age. Religious factions have their disputes which, unfortunately, are not always conducted with the best of spirit. We have no

special reason to conclude that the case was different in the first century. But few traces now remain of the troublous movements of those far-off times.

It seems that after some fourteen years of active work among the Gentiles, Paul and Barnabas went to Jerusalem to counsel with the community there. Paul took occasion to lay before the principal members of this community, hence, of course, such of the apostles as were then living there, the gospel he preached among the Gentiles.[1] By the word "gospel," here, we are to understand the whole system of doctrine he taught. In several places he makes mention of his gospel, and we are given to understand that in some respects it was peculiar to himself. He expressly states that he did not receive it from man, nor was he taught it, and that the apostles "who seemed to be something" imparted nothing to him.[2] Considerable pressure was brought to bear on the question of circumcising Titus, but this was resisted. The result of this conference was that Paul was given the right hand of fellowship to go unto the Gentiles. No lasting peace was made: no union brought about. There were now two "gospels," one to the Gentiles and one to the Jews. Paul appears as the representative of the one, and Peter and the church at Jerusalem as the other. But this did not immediately remove all difficulties. The question of the standing of the Gentile Christians continued to harass the church.

Some time after this there was a painful scene at Antioch. An attempt was evidently made to force on the Gentiles the substance of the Jewish Law. James, as head of the church, sent certain of his delegates there for this purpose. Fearful of their censure, Peter, who had taken some steps in the direction of recognizing the Gentile

[1] Gal. ii. 2. [2] Gal. i. 12; ii. 6.

hristians, withdrew from them, and even Barnabas was ot free from their influence. Their conduct called forth retty plain remarks from Paul.[1] This painful scene ng continued to haunt the memory of the early Chris- ans. In the Clementine Homilies it is dwelt upon.[2] till later, there was an effort to force circumcision on the alatian church. This called forth the Epistle to the alatians, in which the whole ground is argued over.

We gain another view of this conflict in the Corinthian istles. In this case, the narrower points of attack such s circumcision are abandoned. The question seems to resent itself in a new light. What right had Paul to ll himself an apostle? What right had he to pretend teach as an apostle? It seems that from Jerusalem ersons with letters of recommendation had come to orinth,[3] and, as a result, party divisions had arisen there.[4] he Apostle writes to check these divisions, and takes ccasion to defend his own apostolic authority. Here we ill not stop to analyze these letters.[5] We might here re- ark that this phase of the contest was long remembered the church,[6] and is, perhaps, even referred to in Revela- ons.[7]

We need not dwell longer on this stage of the question. erhaps greater importance has been attached to it than ie subject will warrant. We have stated wherein Paul eems to have disagreed with the Ebionite church. He id not, on the other hand, accept all that the Essenic achers taught. He separated from Barnabas on the uestion of admission of the Gentiles.[8] Judging from the

[1] Gal. ii. 11 *et seq.*
[2] Hom. XVII. ch. xix. [3] II. Cor. iii. 1. [4] I. Cor. i. 11.
[5] Vide Bauer: "Church History of the First Three Centuries," Vol. p. 60 *et seq.*
[6] Hom. XVII. xix. [7] Rev. ii. 2. [8] Acts xv. 39; Gal. ii. 13.

Essenic epistle of Barnabas, the Essenes were inclined to distinguish between Christ and the man Jesus.[1] This view Paul expressly condemns, and approaches much nearer the Ebionite church.[2] The Essenic wing of the early church was peculiarly exposed to Gnosticism (which we will soon discuss). We have seen some slight reason to suspect that Simon Magus was one of the workers in this church. In some of the epistles generally accredited to Paul, almost express warning is given against this tendency. The divisions in the church at Corinth show that Paul's party was sufficiently well defined to be distinguished from both the strictly Jewish party (Cephas), and the Essenic party (Christ).[3]

Time, of course, was a great factor in removing the differences of opinion, whether they were great or small, that separated Paul from the other apostles. The mere force of circumstances must have put an end to some points of dispute. The binding claims of the Jewish Law, especially those relating to circumcision must soon have been quietly laid aside. Gentile converts were becoming too numerous to press the claims of strictly Jewish law. When this point was reached, the position assumed by Paul gradually came to be the leading position of the church. The Ebionite church losing numbers and influence grew feebler, and at last was ranked as a heresy. And, on the other hand, the extreme wing of the Essenic church probably drifted into the various Gnostic sects of a slightly later date.

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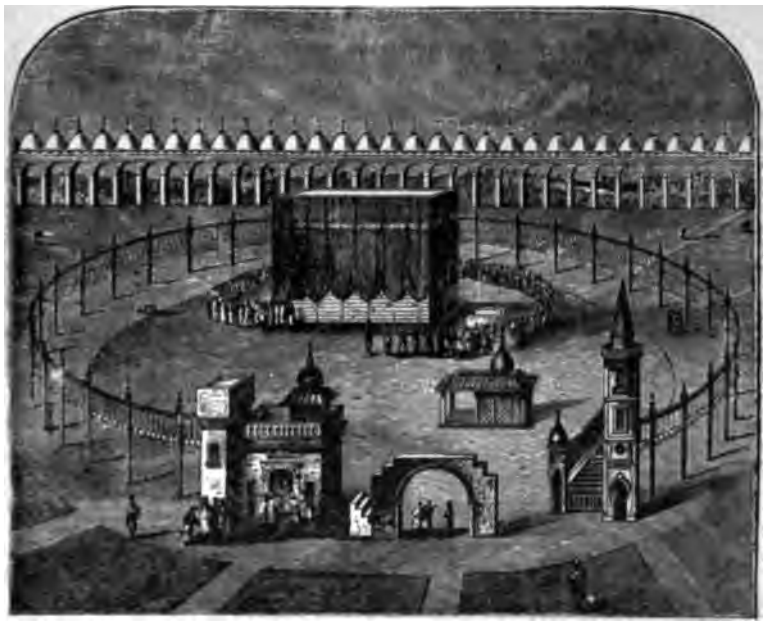
[1] Barnabas xi. 12 *et seq.*; iv.. 1; vide "Angel Messiah," p. 328.

[2] Rom. i. 4. This point can not be further elucidated here. In point of fact, Paul seems to have held an intermediate view between the Christology of the Synoptic Gospels, hence the probable Christology of the Ebionite church, and the views of the Essenic wing of the church. Cf. Bauer: "Church History," Vol. II. p. 65 *et seq.*

[3] I. Cor. i. 12.

But all this took a long while to accomplish. Such frictions and differences of opinion as we have spoken of were inevitable in this formative age of the church. All echoes of them early died away, and it is with some difficulty that we have been able to gather information on this point. We think we have stated the substantial facts of the case. We know that some centuries later, when we have full historic light to guide us, we find the greatest



The Caaba at Mecca

diversity of opinion on theological points of the highest importance. We have no reason to suppose the case different in the first age, only they were on a much smaller scale, so small, in fact, that the historians of the day failed to notice them. We shall now glance at some of the rites and ceremonies of the primitive church.

The early churches patterned very closely after the synagogue. In the start, they were probably called by the

same name.[1] In the synagogue there was a board of *presbyters*, or *rulers*.[2] This board consisted of three members, and decided all questions of interest to the synagogue.[3] The presbyters were also called *bishops*, at least in the Gentile communities.[4] One of these officials acted as chairman or president of the board, but he was possessed of no higher authority than his associates. Under the control of this presbytery there was the *chazzan* or minister He is called the attendant in the New Testament.[5] His duties were quite similar to those of the deacon in the primitive church. But the origin of the latter office is probably to be found in another direction.[6] We might remark that the ordination of presbyters, by the imposition of hands, was the same in both synagogue and church.[7]

The officers so far named were all *administrative*. In the synagogue, there were seven persons appointed to perform the public services on the Sabbath. In this respect the church appears to have varied quite widely. In order to assist in the up-building of the church in a spiritual capacity, a person must be possessed of a spiritual gift—a *charisma*. Paul mentions a number of these gifts. There was the gift of tongues—a rapid pouring forth of ecstatic, unintelligible utterances.[9] Interpreting these speeches was another gift. In the chapter just mentioned Paul sought to discourage the speaking with tongues. Prophecy was another gift; teachers and evangelists formed separate classes. Inasmuch as liturgies and rituals had

[1] James ii. 2. [2] Mark v. 22; Acts xiii. 15.
[3] Stapfer: "Palestine in the Time of Christ," p. 337.
[4] Fisher: "History of the Christian Church," p. 36, New York, 188
[5] Luke iv. 20.
[6] See above, p. 649, and cf. Fisher, Op. cit. p. 35.
[7] Cox: "First Century of Christianity," p. 418. [8] I. Cor. xii. *et seq.*
[9] Quite a common form of phenomena in certain stages of religious excitement; vide Giles: "Apostolic Records," p. 132.

been in use from time immemorial in the synagogue, they were, probably, early introduced into the church. Analogous to the readers of the synagogue, were the "readers" in the primitive church.

Two of their rites require in their treatment plain and candid statements; the rite of baptism and the Eucharist or the Lord's Supper. Neither of these rites was in any sense of the word a new rite. Baptism was adopted as one of the rites of initiation, but as such it was, indeed, a very common rite as we have seen. In regard to the Lord's Supper, we have before us the account of the simple farewell Passover-supper of Jesus and his disciples. This supper, as described in the three gospels, does not differ from the usual supper, save that a new significance may have been given to it by the words of Jesus.[1] We have seen, that in the Gentile world some such a ceremony as this was very common; the Essenes partaking of their holy meal each day. It would be one of the most natural things in the world, that the Essenes, who did not partake of the Paschal meal, should make this last supper correspond with their ordinance. Hence, in Paul's account,[2] the supper appears without any reference to the Passover ceremonies, and the disciples were bidden to do this in remembrance of Christ, no such monition being recorded in the gospels.

The church at Jerusalem, which was very zealous for the Law, must have faithfully observed the Sabbath. Our ideas as to the strictness with which the Jews observed the Sabbath are undoubtedly exaggerated. The Jews certainly did no work that day; the laws in this respect were very minute.[3] But they could invite visitors to their

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[1] Vide Cox: "First Century of Christianity," ch. xvi.
[2] I. Cor. xi. 23 *et seq.* [3] Vide Stapfer, Op. cit. ch. vii.

houses for a social meal.[1] The Sanhedrim met for business, and Josephus, a Pharisee, mentions a political meeting, held on the Sabbath, and states that it was only dissolved

Baptism of St. Stephen.

when the noon hour came, when, according to law, the

1 Luke xiv. 1 *et seq.*

must go to dinner on the Sabbath.[1] We have no evidence that the Jewish church ever departed from this usage.[2] Only by long and slow degrees, did the Gentile church transfer to Sunday some of the Jewish regulations of the Sabbath. Barnabas, in his epistle, speaks of the observance of the "eighth day with gladness."[3] Even as late as the end of the second century, the Christians met for worship in the morning of Sunday, and then went about their usual business.[4]

The one great article of belief in the primitive church was that Christ would soon come again. The resurrection day was regarded as not far off. Numerous quotations could be made from the various books of the New Testament, showing how strongly this belief entered into their life and feelings.[5] It is strange, but true, that this belief would tend to bring them in sympathy not only with Judaism, but the Gentile world as well. The Jews were expecting the advent of the Messiah, when their Millennium Age would begin. The Hindoos believe that Vishnu will appear at the end of time, riding on a white horse, with a comet-like scimeter in his hand wherewith to destroy the wicked. At his approach, the sun and the moon will be darkened, the earth will tremble, and the stars fall from the firmament.[6] And so we might refer to the Buddhists, the Parsists, etc. The Book of Daniel, the Book of Enoch, the Book of Revelations, show the uniformity of belief on this point.

We must now refer to Gnosticism, but here we need

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1 Life, 54.

2 See Eusebius: "History," iii. 27.

3 Barnabas xiii. 10. 4 Vide Cox, Op. cit. ch. xvii.

5 Rom. xiii. 11; I. Cor. xv. 51; I. Thes. iv. 10; James v. 8; I. John ii. 28, etc.

6 "Bible Myths," p. 237.

the laws of thought are everywhere the same. Now we have furthermore shown that, spreading to the West, this culture had come in contact with Judaism, we have watched the conflict of this old religion with the outside world at Alexandria, have observed the peculiar religious culture thence emerging, and, turning to Palestine, have observed with interest the rising of Essenism. It was a long and slow process before this body of religious philosophy assumed distinct features. We have now discussed the contact of primitive Christianity with Essenism. But when Christianity crossed the boundaries of Palestine, it was brought directly in contact with the general philosophy of the Orient. It probably could not fail to be somewhat influenced from that source. As time passed on and Christianity grew in strength, and it came more openly to measure strength with Serapis and Isis worship in Egypt, with the philosophy of Alexandria, with the ancient mystery religions in Greece, and with the worship of Mithras in Rome, we can see at a glance that it had entered on a new stage of progress.

If Christianity was to be the universal religion, it must meet and rise superior to all these various systems. In the conflict that must ensue, numerous systems of beliefs would arise, and for the time being, would be supported by numerous adherents as the ones best fitted for meeting all the wants of the time. All such systems must present an union of the general philosophy of the Orient and the leading doctrine of Christianity. That is to say, they must take account of, and explain as best they could, the life and teachings of Christ. All such systems were Gnostic systems. They are usually called Gnostic heresies, but this is an incorrect use of the word, since they did not spring out of Christianity, but were simply schemes for

of spirit. Its office is to free spirit from matter and return it to its original source. Christ, or the Messiah, is supposed to fill, in this part of the work, an office analogous to that of the demiurge in the descending scale. And a distinction is drawn between the heavenly Messiah and the man Jesus.[1]

What we have now given is a general outline of Gnosticism. We do not feel that we would be justified in giving in detail the various systems.[2] These varied, as we would expect, from mythical, almost childish, speculations to well-considered systems of thought. The conflict with Gnosticism lasted until the close of the second century. A question of great interest at once presents itself. How was Christianity modified by Gnosticism? In such a contest as this, it is idle to assume that Christianity emerged uninfluenced. This especial point of inquiry has not yet received sufficient study, the most we can do is to point out the probable lines of advance. Let us recall that in the primitive church there was no creed, no digested system of theology. Belief in Jesus as the promised Messiah was the one important point.

Now when the church was confronted by well considered schemes of Gnostic speculations, it had to begin by defining its own beliefs. They had to make use of ordinary, every-day words and phrases to do this. It seems to us, that in this direction we must search for traces of Gnostic influence. If we will recall what we found to be the religious culture of the Orient outside of Palestine, we also recall how similar it was to Christian beliefs, rites, ceremonies, and symbols. It must be evident that the church

[1] Vide Bauer: "Church History," Vol. I. p. 193 *et seq.*

[2] The interested student should consult Bauer's work just mentioned, and in addition thereto, Mansel: "Gnostic Heresies;" King: "Gnostic Remains," etc.

adopted many of the same from extra-Jewish sources, and Gnosticism must have been very active in this matter.

Wycliffe.

Alexandria, the birth-place of Gnosticism, is also the birth-place of Christian theology.[1]

1 On this whole subject, consult Bauer: "Church History," Vol. II. p. 2.

One further issue of this long-drawn conflict, is worthy mention, since the results following it were very momentous. The fathers of the second century clearly perceived that the source of Gnosticism was philosophy. Hence, some of them, and especially Irenæus and Tertullian, threw all their influence against philosophy, and especially Greek philosophy. They declared that philosophy and Christianity could have nothing in common. Unfortunately, philosophy included science, and so the writings of these fathers started the church in the direction of antagonizing learning and science. This deplorable error retarded for many centuries the development of Europe, and, unfortunately, its influence is still felt.

The unity of the church had been furthered by this conflict. We have already referred to organization in the primitive church, and its close relation to the synagogue has been observed. The general understanding is that the chairman or president of the board of presbyters gradually drew to himself the chief rights and functions of the entire board, and the bishop's office, with its extraordinary power became established. It was a long while, however, before the churches lost sight of the fact that the bishop was but one of several equals. When this had taken place, it needed but one more step to usher in the Catholic church. We have seen that in its conflict with Gnosticism, it was necessary to enunciate its own beliefs. What authority was to settle what beliefs were right and what wrong? When it came to be believed, that the bishops in council assembled represented the true church, and that their decision was authoritative on these points, then the Catholic church was established. This is the central point around which its development was to proceed.

We have now reached a most important point in this discussion, and will proceed with greater rapidity. Our object is only to gain a coherent idea of the development of Christianity. The events of the next twelve centuries will be considered only from a few separate stand-points. We trust that those who have followed us in this chapter will recognize and make allowance for the peculiar difficulties under which a writer labors who proposes to treat of this topic. We have not hesitated to set forth the historic sequence of the facts as they appear to us, and have treated religious culture just as we would any other department of culture. We are convinced, that it is an error to suppose that truth is a monopoly of any one people, place, or time.

The trinitarian controversies will afford us an opportunity to investigate an interesting subject—growth in doctrine. Whatever might have been the case in the early church, as soon as Christianity came in contact with the outside world, it had to give verbal expression to its articles of belief. The doctrine of the Trinity is one which the human intellect is not capable of understanding, and yet countless efforts have been made to frame this article of creed in words. We have seen that the heathen world had its beliefs in triads and trinities. The problem lying before the church was a most difficult one. It must guard against all theories of emanation, it must guard the unity as well as the personality of the various persons of the god-head. It had for this purpose to make use of words and phrases, and, to some extent, of ideas then in use.

As the apostolic era receded in time, it was more and more necessary for the church to clear up their conceptions in regard to Christ. We have seen how the church had applied to him the various floating conceptions, the Logos doctrine,

the Angel Messiah, etc. But now clearer views were needed in regard to the Trinity. It is manifest that there are two opposite ways of looking at this question, either of which would clear up many difficulties. On the one side, influenced by the strict monotheistic teaching of the Jewish church, the tendency arises to regard all the distinction in the Trinity as accidental only. The same Being, being now the Father, now the Son, and then the Holy Spirit. The holders of this doctrine, however much they differ in detail, are called *Monarchians*. On the other side, influenced by Gnostic ideas of emanation, there is a tendency to loose sight of unity; and dwell more on the separate personality of the persons of the Trinity, and to hold to ideas of subordination—the Father, for instance, being considered superior to the Son, and both superior to the Spirit. But orthodoxy has always refused its sanction to the one point of view, to the exclusion of the other, though it has steadfastly refused its adherence to any form of subordination. The historical discussions have mostly centered around the first and second persons of the Trinity. When thought had cleared up in regard to their relations, the doctrines in regard to the Holy Spirit were at once adjusted in conformity therewith.

The Monarchian theory was supported at the beginning of the third century[1] by several writers, such as Praxeas, Callistus, and Noetus; their teachings differ in detail only.[2] They would, for instance, deny any distinction between God, the Father, and Christ, the Son. About the middle of the century, Sabellius advanced a modified form of this side of the case, that is of Monarchianism. He taught that God was simple unity, and reposed in him-

[1] Crippen: "History of Church Doctrine," p. 38.

[2] Cf. Bauer, Op. cit. Vol. II. p. 93, and especially on Callistus, note, p. 10.

arch as the Holy Ghost.[1] The interested student should re observe the singular combination of Christian and gan beliefs.

It is interesting to observe that the Monarchians im that the views they taught had been the received ews of the church down to the time of Pope Victor,[2] at is to say, the beginning of the third century.[3] Callis-s, one of the supporters of Monarchianism, was after-rds Bishop of Rome.[4] This will show how fluctuating the ctrines of the times were. In fact, the great conflict of third century was over this question of Monarch-ism. In one form or another, it engaged the pens of doctors of the church all through the century. In position to the views set forth above, Origen[5] wrote. He pounded a theory which sought to unite the two oppos-tendencies. Though he regarded the Son as person-y distinct from the Father, yet in one point at least, he takes of the same absoluteness. Though begotten, he s not begotten in time, but in eternity; so, in respect to ie, he is as truly without a beginning, as absolutely rnal, as the Father. This point of view was rapidly braced by the church.[6]

But all through this century, these doctrinal disputes ntinued. Near its close, we find a dispute waging which ows the unsettled state of doctrinal belief. Paul of mosata was a Monarchian. He taught, in regard to us, that he was a mere man, though supernaturally be-ten, became divine by the perfection of his moral life. e Logos, in his system, is simply the divine agency rking in man. As showing the advance in church doc-

1 Crippen, Op. cit. p. 43; Bauer: Op. cit. p. 95.
2 Eusebius v. 28.
3 According to Eusebius' chronological table.
4 A.D. 228. 5 About 235. 6 Bauer, Op. cit. p. 108.

trine, we need only refer to the Council of Antioch in the year 269 A.D. This council condemned the doctrines of Paul. The church now would listen to no scheme of belief which did not admit the pre-existence and divine nature of Christ; or which countenanced any form of Monarchianism. The century ended with a triumph of the views of Origen; but the question of subordination remained, and it took another century of contention to settle this point.

This great dispute goes under the name of the Arian Controversey. Arius was a presbyter of Alexandria. Since the church had finally decided against Monarchianism, it was in danger of going too far in the direction of separate personality. Briefly stated, the doctrine of Arius runs as follows: "God was not always a father, but became so at length. The Son was not always, for, before he was begotten, he was not. He is not of the Father, for he was constituted out of non-existence. He is not of the Father's proper essence, for he is created and made, and Christ is not very God, but he was made God by participation."[1] Arius had been one of the competitors for the office of bishop at Alexandria. His successful rival, Alexander, was now his judge,[2] and at once challenged his position; in the dispute, the entire church speedily became involved.

This was just at the time when Christianity first began to bask in the sun-shine of royal favor. Constantine the Great, when he became aware of the furious controversy raging in the theological provinces of his empire, summoned the first general council of the church to meet at Nice. This council, which assembled in the year 325 A.D., marks an important point in church history. The

[1] Crippen: "History of Christian Doctrine," p. 44.
[2] Gibbon: "Rome," Vol. I. ch. xxi.

HUSS BEFORE THE COUNCIL.

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Alexandrian party, under the lead of Athanasius, had the good fortune to enlist the emperor in their behalf, hence they carried through the council a formula, which has since been deemed one of the bulwarks of orthodoxy.

John Huss.

This formula declares, amongst other items of belief, that the Son is "of the same essence (homoousion) with the Father." It is instructive to learn that this very point

(using the same word, homoousion) had been expressly denied by the Council of Antioch, fifty years previously.[1] Still, this council settled nothing since that mysterious word, homoousion, was capable of being explained differently.

Accordingly, the next sixty years were years of dispute and turmoil. The whole question was complicated by political entanglements, and by efforts for a compromise made by Eusebius of Cæsarea. Upwards of sixty councils and synods were held, "the members of which anathematized each other with strict impartiality. With equal impartiality did each party, when for a time it enjoyed imperial favor, persecute the others."[2] Apparently, neither party hesitated in resorting to bribes, or shrank from the commission of crimes to maintain its supremacy. But the Alexandrian belief finally gained a lasting supremacy as far as the Roman Empire was concerned. The Council of Constantinople, in 381, marks the definite triumph of their principles.

But, even yet, the danger had not entirely passed, the fire was smoldering in an unexpected quarter. Ulfilas, the apostle to the Goths, had preached among them Arian Christianity. They finally adopted that form of belief, and among these people, the decrees of the Roman emperor had no weight. When the so-called barbarians came in contact with the Empire, religious fanaticism was awakened. The Vandals, who overran Northern Africa early in the fourth century, were Arians in belief, and cruelly persecuted the orthodox Catholics. Similar results followed the conquest of Spain by the Goths. For more than a century (475-575), the Catholics were persecuted

[1] Bauer: "Church History," Vol. II. p. 107.
[2] Crippen, Op. cit. p. 46.

By the end of the fifth century, more than half of the German race had embraced Arianism. It seemed at one time as if the sword was to settle this question. It was at this time (492 A.D.), that Clovis, the Frankish chieftain, wedded Clotilda, the Catholic princess of Burgundy.[1] The prayers of his fair and orthodox wife effected what the most learned doctor would have failed to do. Clovis soon became a Catholic, and the orthodox world had now a stout defender. As as result, Arianism was soon in decline.

Our object in the last few pages has been, not so much to gather full information on the doctrinal point of disputes of early centuries,[2] as to learn of the manner and form in which articles of belief grew into creeds. Persons who have never investigated the subject are too apt to suppose that from the very earliest times the Christian world knew just what it believed; in short, that the church has always been in possession of a creed, which has remained ever substantially the same, under which it has moved on to victory, arousing itself now and then to crush some heresy. Mature reflection would, no doubt, convince us that this was an erroneous view, even without referring to the pages of history.

In fact, the Christian church had to feel its way to clearness of view just the same as all systems of philosophical thought. Excluding from consideration Christ and his apostles, we can say that the leaders of the Christian church, the framers of its dogmas, the writers of its creeds, its teachers of theology, were men subject to all the

1 This Series, Vol. III. p. 346.

2 We have not begun to speak of the numerous diverging beliefs. There were some eighteen shades of beliefs during the Arian controversy. Gibbon: "Rome," (Bohn's ed.) Vol. II. p. 412. There were numerous diverse beliefs among the Monarchians.

ting conduct of this same emperor in subsequent years abundantly showing that he had no real understanding of the matter.[1] We observe with astonishment, the petty court intrigues, the bribing of court eunuchs, yes, even the crimes committed by one faction to sustain itself when in power, or to regain power when out of it. We read with amazement the prayer of the Bishop of Constantinople, virtually praying for the death of Arius.[2] That very day, Arius suddenly died, in all probability poisoned,[3] and we learn, not without indignation, of the unseemly exhibition of joy over this event.

We must now glance more particularly at the external development of Christianity. Losing sight of the development in doctrine, let us watch it grow in strength until it became the religion of the world. Suetonius tells us[4] that Claudius[5] expelled the Jews from Rome, because they were continually in a state of tumult, their instigator being *Chrestus*.[6] This decree was probably aimed at an Essenic society, and not against Christians as is often supposed.[7] In the reign of Nero,[8] the first persecution began against the Christians; but this was the wanton act of a despot with-

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1 It is a commonplace of history that he afterwards embraced the Arian cause.

2 Neander, Vol. II. p. 386.

3 At least, all the symptoms were those of poison. He was seized with sudden and excrutiating pains, accompanied with relaxation of the bowels. Neander has a curious argument on this point. The followers of Arius claimed that he was put to death by sorcery; "this," exclaims the worthy doctor, "shows there was no possible ground for suspecting he was poisoned!" To the majority of people it shows no such thing.

4 Vita Claudii, c. 25. 5 41-54.

6 Cf. Acts xviii. 2.

7 The name Chrestus, would indicate this ("Isis Unveiled," Vol. II. p. 323). According to the "Clementines," Barnabas, the Essene, taught in Rome, before the crucifixion ("Angel Messiah," p. 185.) Paul, who was a member of the sect "everywhere spoken against," found brethren in Rome (Acts xxviii. 15, 22.) 8 54-68.

out any state reason to be pleaded in excuse. The Christians were persecuted on "general principles," as we might say. This is the first expression of that feeling of mutual antipathy between Christianity and the heathen world which marks the first stage of the conflict.

This feeling was a perfectly natural one on both sides. The early Christians, with charming egotism, at once assumed that they were the only people in the world deserving of God's care or consideration. Tertullian, in one of the latest Apologies, explained that for the sake of the Christians the world was allowed to remain in existence; that the Roman Empire could thank the Christians that it was not at once blotted out.[1] An unknown writer, in a widely read epistle,[2] claims that "the Christians are in the world what the soul is in the body . . the soul is confined in the body, but holds the body together; the Christians are held in the world as in a prison, but hold together the world itself."[3] But, in point of fact, the *personnel* of the church, at first, was not of a high order. Speaking of the first church at Rome, Renan says: "The ancestors of the Roman prelates were poor, dirty *proletaires*, without distinction, without manners, clad in filthy cosmopolitan rags, having the bad breath of men whose food is insufficient."[4]

Nero

This condition of things steadily improved. But

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1 Apology. Quoted from Bauer. Op. cit. p. 130.

2 "Epistle ad Diognetum." This letter is given in Wordsworth: "Church History to the Council of Nicea." p. 105.

3 Baur's "Church History." Vol. II. p. 131.

4 "Hibbert Lectures." 1880. p. 55.

even as late as the second half of the second century Christianity "found its support neither among the great mass of the people nor among the cultivated class."[1] The facts just named are no reproach to Christianity. The historian must be struck with the fact, that, if only the right chord be struck, just such classes as these named respond most readily to religious teachings. We might refer to Methodism of to-day, which covers the land with colleges and seminaries, and draws to its ranks its proportion of the wealth and aristocracy of the land. Yet, how was it in its beginning? What sort of people first embraced it? It is no reproach to that most splendidly organized and rapidly growing church to be told that it started amid just such surroundings as these.

We can only imagine with how little relish the wealthy, cultured, and refined classes of the world would learn of the arrogant claims of the Christians. It is not strange that heathenism responded to Christian claims in the same spirit. Did Christianity teach that "heathenism as a whole was the kingdom of demons, who, by subtilty and all the arts of deception, induced men to worship them as gods;" heathenism responded, that the Christians were as a race hostile, to mankind, and that their so called religion did not have the least right to that name. Did the church doctors descant against the wickedness and immorality of the *mysteries;* the heathens responded by charging the Christians with committing the most abominable acts in their meetings.

All political power was in the hands of the heathen, hence they added persecution to their denunciation of Christianity. This however was in keeping with the spirit of the age. We know, as is shown by their subsequent

[1] Bauer, Op. cit. p. 134.

acts, that the Christians would have been delighted to have reversed this proceeding. But "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church" the heroism and Christian fortitude of the martyrs undoubtedly served to rapidly advance Christianity. We have observed that the genius of

Massacre of St. Bartholemew.

Christianity is to draw to itself the best religious culture of the age. As time passed on and Christianity spread, its claims were examined by a more advanced class of people. We have observed that the second century was the era of Gnostic disputes, and that the whole movement shows that Christianity had then begun to exercise an attraction for the thinking classes. In increasing numbers

the philosophers began to join the church, even after becoming Christians they wore the philosopher's *pallium*. This must have served to elevate the tone of the church and the second stage of contact between the world and the church was ushered in; the age of the apologists.

The result of this stage of action was conciliatory. The apologists made the attempt to remove the prejudices held against Christianity. They endeavored to show how foolish were the coarse charges laid at the door of the Christians. We cannot refrain from pointing to one significant line of argument. It is not true, exclaims Justin, (in the second century) that Christianity is a thing new and unheard of, which has been suddenly ushered in the world to oppose all that has previously passed for religion, refinement, and culture. If men will only consider the facts of the case they will find plain proofs that, though called by various names, the thing itself, Christianity, is not only now existing in heathen communities, but was in the world long before the time of Jesus.[1]

It is rash at the present day, in the light of our present researches, to deny this argument from the pen of a man who had been a philosopher, and had been thence drawn into the folds of the church.[2] The whole movement of the second century was giving force to this statement, for this was the century of Gnostic disputes, during which the church adopted, as the best expression for its beliefs, considerable of the philosophy floating in solution

[1] Apology I. 55, taken from Bauer: "Church History," Vol. II. p. 137. These same Apologies, however, contain most severe invectives against the whole system of heathen idolatry. Justin probably drew a distinction between the common mythology and idolatry of the masses, and the various philosophical faiths.

[2] Justin, in "Dialogue with Trypho," ch. ii., gives an interesting account of his conversion. See outline of same in Cox: "First Century of Christianity," p. 435.

in the heathen world. It is instructive to learn that this same converted philosopher, Justin, was the first to develop the doctrine of the Logos as incarnate in Christ.[1] Though persecutions continued all through this century, still they were now undertaken from reasons of state policy. Christianity was considered to be in arms against the Roman state religion, and hence, ought to be suppressed.[2]

In the last half of the second century, we come upon the third phase of this conflict. Christianity had now assumed a position of very great importance in the world of culture. It could no longer be put aside with scorn or contempt, thinking men must seriously consider its claims. A comparison worthy of the object in view must now be constituted between Christianity and heathenism, and the system which could best satisfy the wants of the age would be the one to finally triumph. A heathen philosopher, Celsus, wrote a most voluminous attack against Christianity. His writings have been lost, and we only know of them through Origen's reply. He seems to have argued from every conceivable point against Christian belief.[3] The satirist, Lucian, about the year 165, wrote an account of the life of an imaginary philosopher, Peregrinus Proteus. He seems to have intended a parody on the life of Jesus.

As neither the reasoning of Celsus nor the wit of Lucian availed to turn the tide against the Christians, a

[1] "History of the Christian Church," by G. P. Fisher (Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University), New York, 1889, p. 58.

[2] This is apparent in the celebrated correspondence between Pliny, the governor, and Trajan, in regard to the Christians of Pontus and Bithynia, about A.D. 110, for which vide Cox, Op. cit. pp. 200-4.

[3] For an outline of what is known as Celsus' attack, see Bauer: "Church History," Vol. II. pp. 140-166.

new point of attack was assumed by Philostratus. Since the Christians paid such high honor to Jesus, he would show them that heathen history and culture knew of characters every way as worthy of admiration; so he wrote an account of Apollonius of Tyana.[1] There is no doubt that such an individual lived, and he was certainly a most re-

Gregory the Great.

markable personage. For some four centuries, he was regarded by many as a divine being.[2] Philostratus does not mention Christianity or Christ, but he paints such a

1 Written about the year 210. An epitome of this history is given in Waite: "History of the Christian Religion," p. 92 *et seq.*

2 See "Encyclopedia Britannica."

suggestive picture of the life, miracles, and death of Apollonius, that we can only surmise that his object was to show that Christianity could not claim that its founder, Jesus, was a wholly exceptional, and unique character. This shows, however, the position Christianity had now conquered in the world. Heathenism was now on the defensive. When this point had been reached, the triumph of Christianity was not far removed.

Let us consider the growth in political power and influence of the Church of Rome. We have asserted that the point, around which the development of the church was to proceed, was the bishop's office. The first churches were located in cities. As time passed on, and separate organizations were made in the smaller towns and cities, and outlying suburbs, one of the presbyters, from the mother church in the city, became their pastor, he himself being under the jurisdiction of the bishop. Notice the change that has taken place in this once elected board of presbyters. The chairman has become the bishop: the remaining presbyters, priests. This change was of slow growth, and had not taken place before the close of the second century.[1]

In case rural churches were established independently, they had, of course, their own bishop and presbytery. The Council of Sardica[2] ordained that bishops should not be appointed in the small towns, holding that presbyters were sufficient. A still later council ordered that visiting presbyters should be sent to look after the welfare of the smaller churches, and thus the independent churches passed under the control of the bishop of the neighboring city. A church then, in the third century, meant the

[1] Fisher: "Church History," p. 54. [2] A.D. 343.

bishop's church in the city and all the subordinate churches under the care of his presbyters.

It would seem further as if, at this time, every bishop was called, amongst other titles, *father*, *papa*, *pope*.[1] We might remark that this continued to be the custom down to the time of Hildebrand who decreed that it should be henceforth applied only to the Bishop of Rome.[2] As was but natural, the bishop of the metropolis city in each province gained precedence over the other bishops. They were styled *metropolitans*. There were two reasons for this ascendency. Quite often, it had been really the case that Christianity had spread from the provincial metropolis; but the rank of the city probably had a greater influence in this matter. We can easily see that in provincial synods they would generally be the presiding officers, and that in all cases their influence would have great weight. Each of the four prefectures, or political divisions of the Roman empire in the time of Constantine, was divided into two or more *dioceses*; thus the Prefecture of the East contained the dioceses of Thrace, Pontus, Asia, the East, and Egypt.[3] During the third century, the bishop in the chief city of each diocese acquired the ascendency over the other metropolitans; they were variously styled *arch-bishops* (at first the title of every metropolitan), *primates*, and *patriarchs*

The student can easily see the tendency of development. From the very first, it has tended towards concentration of power. We can already foresee the end. A little later, we see some of these diocesan bishops gaining precedence over the others; to them only the title of

[1] Bingham, quoted from Pennington: "Epochs of the Papacy," p. xvi.

[2] Baronii. "Martyrol Roman," from Pennington, Op. cit.

[3] See map in Fisher: "History of the Church," p. 104.

patriarch is applied. These were the patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and, after the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.), Jerusalem. Here we must notice

Zwingli.

the principle on which these various patriarchs ranked in honor. The Council of Constantinople (381 A.D.) said: "Let the Bishop of Constantinople have the precedence of

ıonor next to the Bishop of Rome, *because it is the new Rome.*"[1] Jerusalem was raised to the rank of a patrirchate simply on account of the historic standing of the ity.

If we will consider the geographical location of the our patriarchates, we will observe that one of them was ar more favorably situated for future development than he other, that one favored patriarchate was Rome. But short time was to elapse before the disciplined armies of he Saracens, marching under the banner of the Crescent, ere to extinguish forever the ambitious hopes of the atriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem. The two remaining patriarchal cities, Constantinople and Rome, were unqually matched for the struggle. To this day, the Roman atholic Church and the Greek Church still keep alive his division. But when the Western Empire of Rome ell, we have seen it revived again in the Teutonic Empire. Thus it was that by far the larger portion of Europe conınued to give its adherence to Rome.[2] We would, however, err in concluding that Rome owed all its unique position to its geographical location. A wealth of tradition as associated with Rome. It was generally held that

1 Pennington, Op. cit. p. 4.

2 All are aware that there are two sides to the question we have just iscussed. Catholic writers, of course, insist that from the very beginıng of Christianity, Rome was pre-eminently the head, and that its ishop always exercised substantially the functions of later popes. Those ho care to investigate the subject further will find Murphy: "The hair of Peter," (London, 1883), to be a moderately written book on the atholic side, defending with learning and ability all the arguments on hich they rely. Pennington: "Epochs of the Papacy," (London, 1881), ıay be consulted for the other side. Fisher: "History of the Christian hurch," (New York, 1888), which we have largely used, gives a good ıtline history of early government. Cox: "First Century of Chrisanity," (London, 1886), ch. xiii. gives a good study on church governıent, but he apparently pays little attention to critical study of some of is authorities, the Ignatian Epistles, etc. It would be well to read in ɔnnection therewith Giles: "Apostolic Records," (London, 1886.)

two of the apostles—Peter and Paul—had met their death in Rome. The effort was early made to show that Peter had long lived at Rome, and had made that his headquarters for work. It was furthermore early taught that Peter had been the recognized leader among the apostles, and that Christ had indicated him as the one for this office.[1] Although history knows nothing of these claims, yet their influence was very great. Then the position and importance of Rome made her influence greatly to be desired in the doctrinal disputes of the second and third centuries. In the great Arian controversy, although Alexandria was the leader in the fight, yet the final decision of Rome, taking her stand on the side of Alexandria, was the all-important factor in deciding the final issue.

Here we must lift our pen and let the centuries glide until we near the times of the Reformation. Our reasons will be at once understood when we reflect that our object has been simply to learn of the development of Christianity. Volumes would not suffice to fully treat of the history of the church. But the formative age of the church has now been considered. Doctrines had now crystalized into the form of settled creeds, which were no longer to be inquired into. The church, indeed, grew greatly in power and influence, but along lines that have been fully considered. There was a great deal of interest that transpired in the interval of time which we have allowed to pass by.

Mohammedanism had suddenly over-passed the bounds of Arabia, and, like an irresistible torrent, had wrested Western Asia and Northern Africa from the church, and had only with difficulty been turned back from Europe itself. The fanatical followers of Mohammed had

[1] Cf. Matthew xvi. 13-20.

somewhat unexpectedly developed a love for learning. The age of reason supervened on the age of faith in the countries under their control; and once again Alexandria became noted for its scientific researches; but alas! it was under the banner of the Crescent and not the Cross.

Mohammed the Prophet.

Had we time and space, we would have noticed a darker chapter opening before the church. In the course of a few centuries, barbarian Europe, ignorant and superstitious, had nominally embraced Christianity. We can

foresee the result. If Christianity in an earlier age had made use of many terms and ideas of the Gnostics to express its own ideas, and had made use of many rites and ceremonies of the general religious culture of the age, it ended by absorbing an immense amount of pagan superstition. Almost all forms of lower religion found some form and place of expression in the syncretic tendency of the church. Disguise it as you will, the worship of the relics of saints and martyrs was but fetichism; as the worship, or even veneration of saints, was but a new application of ancestor worship. In short, the historian finds himself once more surveying a scene in which the victors were "insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals."

To conciliate, or to cause the more rapid spread of Christianity, the church adopted not only the many festival days, but many of the rights and ceremonies of the heathen world. This was clearly seen at the time. "You have," says Faustus to Augustine, "substituted your Agapæ for the sacrifices of the pagans; for their idols, your martyrs whom you serve with the very same honors. You appease the shades of the dead with wine and feasts; you celebrate the solemn festivities of the Gentiles, their calends, and their solstices; and, as to their manners, those you have retained without any alteration. Nothing distinguishes you from the pagans, except that you hold your assemblies apart from them."[1]

This result is indeed but what we might expect. The religious culture of a people can never be greatly in advance of their general culture. A more deplorable result to which we have already referred must be noticed. Although the church adopted many ideas from the philosophers of the day, it had unfortunately imbibed a dislike to

[1] Draper: "Science and Religion," p. 48.

losophy itself. Then was begun the conflict between nce and religion, which deepened as time went on. All ginal investigations were discouraged. As the church w in power, it strengthened that most terrible of all esiastical weapons of defence, the Inquisition, and reso-

Death of Savonarola.

ly opposed all knowledge that was not in strict accord h the narrow and ignorant views of the first centuries ur era. Briefly summed up, the situation may be de-bed as follows: The church which had adopted as its

own all the best philosophy of the age, and which had then conquered the world, had grown careless by success until it had fallen a prey to the superstition of the world and now, too indolent to purify itself, it was striving to hold the world in the grooves of the past, using brute-power to accomplish its ends.

This brings us to consider the Reformation. We see in the Reformation much more than is ordinarily understood by that term. The chapters in which Luther and his band of Reformers played so important a part, were but the conclusions of a long series of movements. Brute force may for a time hold back the development of a world, but the ever-swelling current of advance rises higher and higher, and must in time sweep away the strongest of opposing barriers. The world may count itself happy if such crises if the suddenly liberated torrent does not leave behind it wide-spread desolation and ruin. So in the case before us, Christianity, at the close of the twelfth century had assumed the form of an oppressive ecclesiastical system. It did not hesitate to call to its aid, the terrors of superstition and the arm of political power to retain its hold.

In its comprehensive scheme, the church and religion were everything. The separate nations of Europe were to lose their individuality and their liberty; at most they were to be but integral parts of the ecclesiastical empire at the head of which was the haughty successor of the Galilean fisherman. And in this state there was to be no liberty of conscience. The schoolmen had painfully reared their system of philosophy. "The doctrine of the seven sacraments of transubstantiation, of the power of the priest, of the heavenly treasure of merit, and the prerogative of the church to dispense it, of purgatory, of the invo

cation of saints, of the honor due to Mary, of her assumption and immaculate conception—were all reduced to a system, were bound to one another by argument and analogy, were followed out to their logical consequences."[1] This was set forth in many dreary tomes, and could be discussed only within very narrow limits.[2] So little was there of the spirit of toleration, that heretical sects were to be remorselessly crushed with fire and sword. Medieval Christianity can never remove from the pages of history the terrible record of the Albigensian crusade.[3]

Original research was not to be encouraged in any branch of science. Theology had grasped science and learning by the throat, and allowed them barely to live on sufferance. "The constant exaltation of blind faith, the countless miracles, the childish legends, all produced a condition of besotted ignorance, of grovelling and trembling credulity that can scarcely be paralleled, except among the most degraded barbarians."[4] In religion, Christianity had become largely an *objective* religion. By paying undue reverence to the past, its forms of worship had stiffened into fetters. A vast machinery of mediation—sacraments, priesthood, discipline, ritual—had been interposed between the individual soul and its God. Its face was towards the

[1] Beard: "Hibbert Lectures," 1883, p. 33.

[2] Thomas Aquinas, at the head of one branch of the schoolmen, published his "Brief Compendium of Theology," consisting of seven hundred and fifty folio pages, each containing over two thousand words. He discusses such topics as: "Whether an Angel can be in more than one place at one and the same time." "Whether angels have local motion," etc. It is a striking commentary on Catholic learning to be told that this dreary verbiage of over six centuries ago, is highly esteemed at the present day. ("Chair of Peter," p. 256, note 1).

[3] 1208 A.D. This sect was located principally in Languedoc, France. In the crushing of this sect, the Inquisition first took form. Those who care for the details of this persecution, should consult Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 371.

[4] Leckey: "Rationalism in Europe," Vol. I. p. 282.

past. It demanded only precedents, it wanted no agitation, no discussion; it desired rest.[1] There is no question that the machinery of the church was badly corroded with worldly rust. In Provence, when a person had reached about the lowest depths of depravity, he was said to be "Viler than a priest."[2] Nor were these irregularities confined to the lower orders of the priesthood; but we shall not enlarge on this point.[3]

There is a side to this question which is too little dwelt upon. "By consolidating the heterogeneous and anarchical elements that succeeded the downfall of the Roman Empire, by infusing into Christendom the conception of a bond of unity that is superior to the divisions of nationhood, and of a moral tie that is superior to force, by softening slavery into serfdom, and preparing the way for the ultimate emancipation of labor, Catholicism laid the very foundation of modern civilization."[4] The trouble was, that in the course of time the world had advanced beyond its stand-point. Its beliefs had grown rigid, and could not change with advancing culture. It held to old and antiquated conceptions of the government of the universe, of man's place and importance in the world. The egotistical notions of earlier centuries had grown with the passage of time. Its views must be the only right views, its method of salvation the only one possible; and in defence of the same, it felt justified in using the arm of power.

The church itself seems to have been aware for some three centuries at least before the Reformation finally dawned, that *a* reformation must be made. Pope Innocent

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1 Beard: "Hibbert Lectures," 1883, p. 114.

2 Draper: "Intellectual Development of Europe," p. 433.

3 Those who wish to see the dark side of this picture should consult Draper, Op. cit. p. 280 *et seq.*

4 Leckey: "Rationalism in Europe." Vol. II. p. 38.

III.[1] occupied the papal throne at a time when the power of the popes was at its greatest height. King John of England acknowledged his kingdom to be but a fief of the

Martin Luther.

Roman See. The King of France put aside one beloved wife, to receive in her stead the wife from whom he had

1 1198-1216.

been divorced, at the stern command of Innocent. Otho of Germany was driven from his throne to make room for Frederick, since he would do more for the papacy. As for the Italian states, they were subject to one lord after another according to the will of the Pope.

Yet, at that very time, the first signs of a yet distant change appeared. There was a sudden and wide-spread outbreak against the oppressive weight of ecclesiastical authority. There were mutterings to be heard even in cloistered halls. It took the shape of various heretical outbreaks. There were the Albigenses in Provence, there were the "Poor Men of Lyons," and in Northern Italy, there were the Waldenses. In one respect at least, all these sects agreed. "Hatred and contempt of the priesthood characterized the whole movement."[1] We can only view with admiration the Waldenses. They translated the Bible into their own language, and believed that Biblical language was to be interpreted in its plain and natural sense. They denied any special sanctity to the priest, and, in general, dispensed with the complicated machinery of the church. This movement spread all over Europe, though largely as a secret society. Thus closed the twelfth century in Europe.

But the church met this movement by a counter reform. In addition to various forcible means of repression, which will forever tarnish the memory of the medieval church, there were instituted the two great orders of mendicant monks, the Dominicans and the Franciscans. The discontent of the masses of the people against the regular clergy could not apply to these monks who, barefooted and in rags, spread over Europe, preaching to the common people wherever occasion offered. The "Poor men of

[1] Beard: "Hibbert Lectures," 1883, p. 8.

Lyons," were more than answered by the "Poor men of the church." We need never doubt the self-sacrificing and Christian spirit of the founders of these orders and their immediate followers. "To reproduce the life of him who had not where to lay his head," was the ardent wish of Francis Assisi. Their efforts were largely successful. But as time passed on, the monks of these orders forgot their vows of poverty. They acquired great wealth, they entered the paths of learning, and their influence with the common people steadily declined. As for the Dominican monks, we must not forget that in 1233 the task of rooting out heresy was intrusted to them, and, under their directions, that terrible engine of persecution, the Inquisition, took form and shape.

The first part of the thirteenth century was distinguished by the conflict between the Pope[1] and Frederick II. of Germany.[2] Now Frederick had spent the early years of his life in Sicily, and his court was the home of Saracen and Jewish philosophers. Hence the liberal tendencies of his mind. We need not repeat the story of his conflict with the Pope. But it suffices to say that the life of Frederick had great weight in preparing Europe to shake off the shackles of the church. Europe observed with surprise an *excommunicated* emperor succeeding in a crusade to recover the Holy Land, for which so many emperors and kings, accompanied by the prayers and blessings of popes, had labored in vain. They had seen this emperor, on his return, measure words with the pope himself, and, at the head of his armies, compel the recall of his excommunication, and the signing of a treaty of peace dictated by him.

They had further profited by the enlightened conduct

[1] Gregory IX. [2] This Series, Vol. III p. 374.

of Frederick. In Sicily, he provided for the toleration of all professions—Jew and Mohammedan as well as Christian. He established marts and fairs. He encouraged science and learning. He collected libraries, established

Luther and Melanchthon.

menageries for natural history, founded universities, encouraged all the liberal arts. All this led to the renewal of the conflict with Rome. Once more Frederick was excommunicated, and once more his troops were directed against Rome. Death saved Gregory from defeat at the hands of Frederick. Then came, a few years later, the

last struggle of Frederick's life with the papacy. Frederick had now to pay the penalty of being in advance of his age. He aimed to strike a blow at the whole hierarchical system. He declared it to be his purpose to restore the simplicity of apostolic days. The whole power of the hierarchical system was now aroused against him. He was growing old, and finally gave up the contest, dying the latter part of the year 1250.

Frederick, the individual, had indeed passed away, but his influence remained. A part of the old glamor had gone. Europe now began to take a cooler and more critical view of religion and church claims. The age of faith in the West was weakening. Soon after the events just stated, we find Dante in Italy, and Roger Bacon in England, putting forth their works, the harbingers of the new age of learning which was, even then, dawning.[1] A new spirit was abroad in Europe—the spirit of nationality—inspired by Frederick's example, other nations were beginning to feel that they could get along in their domestic affairs without the supervision of Rome. Just as the thirteenth century is closing, we notice both England and France resisting the claims of Rome, and the church discovered that its formidable weapon, excommunication had lost its old power.

The troubles with France were to lead to most important results. When Clement V. was elected Pope,[2] it was by the intrigues of the French cardinals. One probable condition of his election was that the seat of papal authority should be removed from Rome to France.[3] Avignon was now chosen as the new seat of papal authority. Thus

1 Above, p. 345. 2 1305.

3 The sixth condition between Bernard de Goth, archbishop of Bordeaux, who became Clement V., was a secret one; but judging from after results, it must have been the condition just named.

was begun what is known as the "Babylonian Captivity;" some seventy years were to elapse before the popes were to again take up their residence in Rome. During all this time the power of the church was on the decline. In the first place, it was plain to all that they were but the tools of the kings of France. This gave great dissatisfaction

Death of Zwingli.

to the other nations, and finally culminated in an unfortunate quarrel with theEmpire.

Other results flowing from this quarrel were none the less important. Philip was assisted by eminent lawyers, who were ready to discuss questions on the origin and

wer of the church. Books began to make their appear-
ce, that an earlier age would have regarded with horror.
gidius de Colonna wrote to show that spiritual and tem-
ral powers were distinct and independent, each being
lained of God. Another wrote to show that there was
historical foundation for the extravagant claims of the
pes. Dante wrote his treatise on "Monarchy." In
ort, all over Europe, discussions were started regarding
origin of power, both civil and ecclesiastical. Several
iters ventured to assert the principle, that a general
ncil was the superior even of popes.[1]

It was at such a time as this that Wycliffe was living
England. He also opposed papal encroachments. He
ged that the clergy be forbidden to interfere in civil
airs. In many points he anticipated the Reformation.
taught that the bread and wine remained unchanged
communion, he condemned the ecclesiastical machinery,
denied the necessity of auricular confession. His
atest service was in translating the Bible. His writings
re carried to Bohemia, and there exerted a great
luence.

We must hurry this sketch along. Near the close of
fourteenth century, we witness the singular spectacle
two rival popes, with two colleges of cardinals, one at
me, and one at Avignon. It became evident to the
ole church that steps must be taken at once to heal the
ism. Hence the fifteenth century opens with the re-
ming councils. The first one, meeting at Pisa (1409),
y aggravated the difficulties it was intended to

[1] To this the whole Franciscan order assented. Its general, Michael
Cesena, wrote against the "Errors of the Pope." Their great scholar,
am, composed a treatise to the same effect. The most celebrated pro-
tion of this period was from the pen of a physician, Marsilis of Padua;
book, "Defensor Pacis," had great influence.

heal. It deposed both the rival popes, and elected Alexander V. as the true and lawful pope. The council was soon after dissolved, but there were now three popes instead of two in the field.

The Council of Constance met in 1414. The objects of this council were to effect the union of the church under one pope, to reform the clergy, and to suppress heresy. It accomplished the first by compelling the deposition of two popes, and accepting the resignation of a third. It failed in the second, except to ventilate the subject, and the carrying of a decree embodying a few general reforms. It took a step in the direction of the third, by condemning Huss to the stake, notwithstanding the solemn promise of the Emperor Sigismund of safety. Huss was the Bohemian agitator who had imbibed the doctrines of Wycliffe. With the blood of an innocent martyr, the great schism in the church had been healed.

But a new spirit had sprung up in Europe. The new learning that we have already discussed, was now beginning to bear its fruits. The discontent against church doctrine and church rule could not thus be checked. Eminent men were living, who boldly attacked the antiquated learning of the age, and their voices were not in vain. There was John of Goch, born about the beginning of the fifteenth century. He condemned Scholasticism. He maintained the binding authority of the Bible, explained in a simple, natural manner. He claimed for it a higher authority than the decrees of popes or councils. He rejected the monastic vow as useless for piety, and hostile to Christian liberty.[1] There was John Wessel,[2] a teacher of theology at several of the leading universities. He advocated so

[1] Vide Ullman: "Reformers Before the Reformation," Vol. I.
[2] 1420-1489

many of those beliefs which became the leading ones of the Reformers, that "Luther declared that if he had read sooner the works of Wessel, it might have been plausibly said by his enemies that he had borrowed everything from them."[1] In Italy, there was Jerome Savonarola, the eloquent preacher of Florence. In his exposition of the Psalms, the ideas he expresses are almost identical with the later reformers. Yet this eloquent preacher, this accomplished divine, met a martyr's death just as the fifteenth century was drawing to its close.

We have as yet said nothing of the mystical movement, which had been making more or less headway in the church for some centuries. We see at a glance that the tendency of such a movement would be against the formal, dogmatic religion—the religion of creeds and ceremonies—and in favor of a more spiritual religion. Mysticism was exposed to many dangers, and gave rise to many heretical sects. But, in another direction, they accomplished much. Such an institution was "The Brethren of the Common Lot." The whole tendency of this order was reformatory. They were practical, every-day Christians. In their schools, they attacked the scholasticism of the age. We find them, one hundred years before the time of Luther, urging that the Bible be given to the people in German; we find them conducting their religious exercises in German. All this was accomplishing an immense work in the direction of reform. Finally, we may mention that from their ranks was produced that epoch-making book of Thomas a Kempis, "The Imitation of Christ."[2]

The Reformation is now in sight. In England, Colet and his band of reformers are lecturing, writing, laughing

[1] Fisher: "History of the Church," p. 276.
[2] Vide Ullman, Op. cit. Vol. II.

the philosophy, the hierarchical system, and the arrogant claims of the church out of existence. In the mountain fastnesses of Switzerland, Ulrich Zwingli is teaching his hardy countrymen to exercise their common sense, to accept the Bible only as their authority, and to dispense with the machinery of the church. In France, Jacques Lefevre is prophesying of the near reformation of the

Council of Trent.

church. He is teaching that the Bible is the supreme and sufficient authority in religion. In Bohemia, the flames that consumed Huss in far off Constance have in some mysterious manner broken out at home, and threaten the destruction of the hierarchy. Finally, in Germany itself,

we see the monk of Wittenberg, Martin Luther, nailing his celebrated theses to the cathedral door.

It is not necessary to pursue this subject further. Perhaps we can now get a clearer view of the Reformation. We have made the assertion that the power of Christianity lay in the fact that it adapted itself to the highest and best culture of the age. That is the secret of its rapid growth in the first centuries of our era. During the course of the dark ages, it had gradually failed in this respect, and was even trying by force to hold back the advancement of the world at large. By the Reformation, we are to understand all that series of movements which had for its object the placing of Christianity once more in sympathy with the best culture of the age.

In the main, we may say that Christianity has since remained true to this cardinal principle. This is shown by the simple fact, that from time to time, belief has adjusted itself to better agree with advancing culture. Witness the change in regard to toleration. The reformers were just as intolerant and as ready to persecute as were the Catholics.

But, in the course of time, the practice of Christianity has changed in this respect. We have also seen Christianity adapt itself to new scientific views. We have further seen a softening down of creeds. Every one knows that the orthodoxy of to-day, on many points, is not the same as it was even fifty years ago. It will not be the same fifty years from to-day; changelessness is an attribute of death, not of life, and Christianity is a living religion.

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

THE Change in Popular Science of Late years—New Theories—I
ance of Our Subject—Change in Ideas as to the Antiquity of
Change in Ideas of the Primitive State of Man—The Zero-p
Humanity—Necessity of Studying the Lower Tribes of Me
Age of the Black Races—The Age of the Yellow Races—Ge
Illustration—Rise of the Whites to a Position of Importan
Hamites—The Semites—Analysis of Semitic Culture—Semi
ligion—European Origin of the Aryans—Asiatic Migrations—
Culture—Roman Culture—Teutonic Culture—Aryan Religio
sible Future Changes in Government-
Family—Future Advance—Present Du

have now to sum up the results
work and see what general concl
can be drawn as to the life of man
globe. We want to present in as concise a form as p
the most salient points of the story of his growth i
ure. Let us gaze on the picture we have painted
whole, striving to impress on the memory the pri
features of the scene, and carry them with us in
every-day affairs of life. From our present stand
let us inquire of the future. Looking down the long
of the past, let us observe the general course of e
and thus draw some conclusions as to the developm
culture yet to be achieved.

It is not easy to realize the importance of the s
we have been discussing, or to properly estimate the

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culties in our path. It is virtually a new field. One after another we have observed the various branches of science changing their teachings on most important points. In astronomy, we have seen the old idea, that the earth was the one important body around which the starry hosts of heaven revolved, exchanged for the well established fact that it is but one of the smaller planets wheeling around the sun, and hurrying with that orb through fathomless space.

In geology, we have seen the idea of sudden cataclysms putting an end to the life and scenes of one geological era, quietly laid aside for the belief in slow working causes which, extending through vast reaches of time, bring about the greatest of observed changes. Nor have these changes of opinion on important branches of learning ceased. The scientist must constantly hold himself in readiness to change his views to agree with newly ascertained facts. Within the last few years, the sciences of zoology and botany have had to consider the claims of the new theory of evolution. It is safe to say that however modified that theory may be in the future, it has left an indelible impress on the branches of science just named.

And who does not know that the whole world of physics is tremulous with new and daring theories. Chemistry knows of more than three-score so-called elements; but it also knows that investigators of wide and varied research are prophesying of some bold experimenter who shall demonstrate that there is but one element; just as it has been all but demonstrated that there is but one force. Nay, more than this, there are those who hope to establish that force and matter are, in their essence, one. What a thought for contemplation! But not considering these more speculative theories, bearing in mind only the

changed opinions in the fields above set forth, it is not rash to re-examine the history of man, and if necessary we need not shrink from quietly setting aside the great mass of current opinions and teachings as to man's life on the globe, and his growth in culture.

Thus the importance of this discussion becomes evident. The difficulties confronting us are equally evident. Think of the extensive field of work! And, unfortunately, for our purposes, a vast mass of material gathered by painstaking historians is useless. They have studied history from a wrong stand-point. They give us a wonderfully exaggerated idea of the importance of some people. How many histories are there that commence with the Flood, then the Tower of Babel, and then turn at once to the Jews, making them the center around which the whole historical world revolves? Or in the field of culture history, how many have discovered that it was necessary to go among the lowest of existing savages and study their beliefs and customs? Or for that matter how many have shown a just appreciation of history at all? Wars and battles, expeditions and sieges, the accession or extinction of dynasties fill their pages. It is of course necessary to have a good, general idea of such facts as these, but is it not evident that the importance of the individual is but local and temporary? They are but the agents by means of which the race or the nation works out its destiny.[1]

Pioneers in a new field, we have been exposed to some dangers. We have had to make new groupings of facts, new divisions or epochs of time. Then we have had to discuss some points not usually considered in an historical work. It has doubtless seemed at times as if we had gone out of our way to consider questions having, to say the

[1] Vol. IV. p. 170-1.

least, very little connection with our subject. We hope, however, that with the whole field before us, it becomes evident to all that in every instance some definite object was in view, some difficulty has been cleared away, and thus new light obtained on the general subject. For the same reason we have had to content ourselves with hurried reviews of important periods in the political history of various nations and people; still this was the only way to do with the immense field lying before us.

In striving to set before ourselves the general results, it will be most convenient to refer with especial emphasis to a few of the more prominent ones. First in regard to the beginning of history. A few years ago it was quite the custom to think of man as making his appearance on the earth about four thousand years before Christ. It was supposed that at least one stream of history could be traced quite continuously from that far away time. But we now see that we have mistaken poetry for prose, and that dreamy scenes of parable and allegory have floated before us as authentic pictures of the past, the reality being far different. We have learned that the earth is a vast palimpsest; beneath the evidence of our present culture, we have read the dim, almost effaced, records of vanished people.

We have learned that back of the historic period of man's life, which is not the same in different regions of the earth, there lies a vastly more prolonged period, of which we know but little, the prehistoric; and what we know of any country in the earlier portions of its historic period is extremely scanty. We are like tourists who view a country from a distant summit, here and there through rifts in the clouds, we catch a distant view; but the scene is repeatedly interrupted, and each successive lift of the clouds shows us a different landscape. No matter in what c- in-

try we begin our search, we soon come to the uncertain period of half legendary times, beyond which lies the vast region of the unknown.

Calling to our aid the archaeologist, we have learned of him some slight details of the prehistoric period in some of the regions of the earth which are now the seats of the highest culture. In Europe, for instance, we are asked to contemplate a time when the inhabitants were Turanians.[1] We see the dense forests of Western Europe;[2] we see the strangely situated lake settlements,[3] the crannog dwellings in Ireland.[4] The domestic animals are few, the cultivated cereals and fruits are rare, the polished stone implements and weapons show us that we are surveying savage scenes.

But when we ask, is this, then, the beginning of human life in Europe, we are answered in the negative. The scene is changed, we are taken back beyond the beginning of our present geological age. The British Islands are now but a northward projecting promontory of Europe. What is now the English Channel is the grazing ground of animals long since banished from these latitudes.[5] There are elephants and mastodons grazing on the broad savannas, there are lions and tigers lurking in the thickets, and in the streams the sluggish hippopotamus is disporting.[6] The men of this period are as strange as the surroundings.

Judging from their weapons, from the few fragmentary bones of their skeletons, from their dwelling-places, they were certainly as low in the scale of development as the savages of Australia. They may have belonged to the same race.[7] When was this? We cannot answer. We are told by men eminent for their learning that this was

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1 Vol. I. p. 211. 2 Vol. I. p. 227. 3 Vol. I. p. 175.
4 Vol. I. p. 118. 5 See map Vol. I. p. 63. 6 Vol. I. p. 65. note 3.
7 Vol. I. p. 93.

immeasurably remote[1] from the epoch of the lake dwellers of Switzerland. We are told that between these two periods there intervened the Glacial Age. We are asked to realize, as best we can, the slowly lowering temperature that finally resulted in the formation of great beds of snow, which, increasing from year to year in the more exposed regions of land, finally as a desolating glacier descended on the plains.[2]

And then we have carefully gone over the question of the antiquity of the Glacial Age and from several points of view have endeavored to come at some decision in this matter. We found several theories supported by men of great ability as to the causes of the low temperature of the Glacial Age. One of them we found to be astronomical, and if entitled to credit gives us a chance to settle the question of time. But after all, the general conclusion simply remains of a vast and prolonged antiquity; one requiring many thousands of years for its expression.[3]

Such results attended the careful study into the antiquity of man in one section of country, Western Europe. But from a number of other places indications are not wanting to the effect that the same course of events there took place.[4] In our own country, opinion is gradually settling down to the conclusion that here, also, man has been living for a very prolonged number of years; and further, here, too, we find evidence that the beginning of his life must be sought for in some of the geological eras of the past.[5] And the foregoing but receives emphasis from the researches of the anthropologists and scholars in the closely related fields of ethnology, philology, and sociology.

When we study the races of men, when we attempt

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[1] Vol I p 172-3. [2] Vol I p. 69.
[3] Vol I chapter v. [4] Vol I p. 91. [5] Vol. I chapter ix.

to estimate the time it took to produce the strongly marked types, when we study into the origin of language, or endeavor to give a knowledge of the origin of the institutions of society, we are at once aware of the fact that man must have made his appearance on the earth long, long ago.[1]

All this shows how very inadequate was the older view as to the history of man. In no country, are we prepared to say just when tribes of men first took up their dwelling. Of no country, of no people, have we a full and concise history. More than that, we can say that the historic period of man's life on the globe is but a small fraction of the whole. The portion in sight is but a small arc of the circle. That which we can peruse is but a short chapter in the book of events.[2]

With this change of view as to the history of man, is necessarily involved another change; the condition of primitive man in culture. Here a happy scene was wont to be painted. Primitive man, though destitute of our modern comforts, was supposed to be after all quite highly civilized; he was a cultivator of the ground and the happy possessor of flocks and herds, with the family circle constituted much as it is now. Here again the mellow light of tradition has been allowed to woefully distort the vision.

Far different is now seen to be the real facts of the case. As far as we are now prepared to say, man has always been distinctively human; has always been the possessor of those faculties which distinguish him from the most highly endowed animals.[3] But that is all we can say. At the present day advance in learning is gained only by the exercise of natural faculties, building on the foundation already laid. This must always have been the case. Consequently there must have been a time once when man

[1] Vol. II. chapter 1. [2] Vol. I. p. 164. [3] Vol. I. p. 98.

stood at the zero-point. It is no doubt hard to clearly realize what this expression implies. The lowest of existing savages must be considerably removed from that stage. They possess language, have organized society, and possess implements and weapons of stone. All this, even, primitive man had to acquire by the slow experience of many years.[1]

Nor must we think that man passed rapidly through this infantile stage, all evidence points to the fact that for a long period of years his advance was very small in amount.[2] Language itself being an invention[3], there must once have been a time when man was destitute of it.[4] We can only surmise as to the length of time it must have taken to form even the least perfectly developed language and social institution. We have traced the origin of government. Back of our present government we find everywhere underlying it tribal government. The advance from one to the other can be plainly traced.[5] But we have pushed the inquiry deeper; we have sought to learn of the origin of tribal government, and have found it taking its rise along the line of sex.

In fact, we have tried to show what a deep meaning is concealed in the expression "the infancy of the race".[6] The infant is almost the most helpless of animals; and it takes long years of constant care, supplemented by other long years of training, before it can make good use of its powers. It is even so of the race in general. We are only now beginning to rightly apprehend the long flight of years, that it must have taken to advance man to even the lower stages of culture. Even the modern family, that seems to us to be so perfectly natural, is but the result of experience,

[1] See Remarks Vol. II. p. 64-71. [2] Vol. I. p. 87. [3] Vol. II. p. 29.
[4] Vol. II. p. 52, note 6. [5] Vol. II. chapter ii. [6] Vol. II. p. 253.

passing in its development through several prior forms.[1]

Thus we can see from what an erroneous conception of history the majority of writers have started. We can see how necessary it is to lay broad and deep the foundation in this respect, before proceeding to the mere political history of various people. A history of civilization is a history or description of the various steps by which man passed from the lower stages of enlightenment to that advanced stage that we call civilization. It would be almost hopeless to attempt this work, if we could not call to our aid the experience of another branch of science. What excellent use the astronomer now makes of those strange nebulae in distant space! From them he frames his theory of world-life. Almost every stage of development he finds illustrated.

So in our search after the stages in the development of culture; we are to go among the lowest tribes of men, study their customs and manners. Herein is to be found the true basis for a history of culture. Here we are to search for the beginning of government; of social life; of the primary inventions such as agriculture, horticulture, metallurgy the manufacture of implements, and weapons; alphabetical writing; and even the first stage of religious culture. We have had to hurry over this ground,[2] but we trust that sufficient has been set forth to answer the demands of those who simply desire general information on those points.

Thus we see what erroneous views had to be overcome, and with what care the foundation had to be laid for the examination into the political history of individual people. We are however to use this history simply to illustrate further growth in culture. All advance falls into a few main

[1] Vol. II. p. 150,216

[2] See first four chapters of Vol. II.

divisions. Either it is an intellectual advance, showing itself in art, science, or literature; or it is a social advance, in the direction of greater personal liberty, improvement in government, etc.; or it may be advance in the field of religion. Let us inquire what conclusions we arrived at in each of these directions of inquiry, and what points of interest we observed in the history of various people.

In discussing the various races of men, in addition to the important conclusions as to the antiquity of man and his primitive culture, we saw that, broadly speaking, the races of men fall into three great groups, the Black, the Yellow, and the White Races. We found the probabilities to be that the Black Races were the oldest in point of time. In general terms, we found them to include in their ranks those races who are now the lowest in the scale of culture. We found reasons for thinking that they have very little capacity for advance.[1] In various places, we found ground for concluding that they were once widely spread over the earth.[2] The beginning of social life and many of the primary inventions belong to them. In the great field of religious culture, they probably took only the first steps.

The probabilities are that the Black Races had long inhabited the earth, had occupied all its fairer portions, before we notice the spread of the Yellow Races. The home-land of the Yellow Races seems to have been to the north of the center of Asia.[3] Here for some thousands of years they had been slowly divaricating from the Black Races. They had become lighter in color, and owing to climate and surroundings, perhaps, had become possessed of greater mental endowment. A change has taken place in

[1] Vol. II. chapter 1. [2] Vol. I. p. 93; Vol. II. p. 80.
[3] See remarks Vol. II. p. 358-9; also map, p. 356.

their social organization. Tribal society has become developed. The various divisions of a tribe have assumed definite shapes.

In short the Yellow Races commenced to lay the foundation of our present culture. When this section of country became overcharged with population, great migrating bands sallied forth in search of better homes. When these movements first began, we have no means of determining. In Europe the Glacial Age had long passed away when they invaded the land bringing with them the domestic animals and plants of their Asiatic home, but they were yet in the Neolithic stage of culture. They had not yet learned to make use of the metals. If we are right in our surmises that at least a portion of our Indians came from that same section of country,[1] they must have been among the very first to leave.

We have found the probabilities to be that as early at least as seven thousand B. C.[2] the Turanian tribes had spread widely over the earth from their Asiatic home,[3] while they were as yet in the Neolithic stage of culture. Broadly speaking they introduced the Neolithic culture, which in many respects shows us an advance over the culture of the Paleolithic Age. But their energies were by no means exhausted. The probabilities are that they acquired a knowledge of some of the metals. Increased knowledge in this respect bespeaks advance in other directions as well. The Turanian tribes that wandered into the Mesopotamian Valley began at an extremely early day to develop their picture writing.[4]

Every department of social life probably became more specialized, the rights and duties of each becoming more

[1] See arguments Vol. II. p. 106. [2] Vol. I. p. 258-9.
[3] Vol. I. p. 212. [4] Vol. II. p 376.

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definite. In short, the foundations of our present culture were laid. In religion we see the people guided by their shamans or priests entering the stage of Polytheism. We find great religious poems making their appearance, poems on the creation and nature poems. In fact, in this direction, no less than in various other fields, the world to-day is still influenced by the beliefs of the Turanians of early Chaldea.[1] Canals were dug; temples were built; codes of law began to make their appearance;[2] astronomy began to be studied;[3] mathematical computations were made, the calendar was arranged, every seventh day was made a Sabbath;[4] government was organized; writing reduced to a system; and great collections were made of holy songs, incantations, and religious poems. In the Mesopotamian Valley, probably, Turanian culture reached its culminating point. The larger portion of the Turanian stage of the world's history belongs to the prehistoric times. How instructive it is to learn that in Europe, in Western Asia, in Egypt, we come upon traces of a time when Turanians were the ruling people, and included in their ranks the most advanced, the highest civilized tribes.

To give clearness to a thought that we wish to express let us refer to geology for an illustration. In general terms, the geologist teaches us that various forms of life after struggling into prominence flourish in great luxuriance for a while, and then decline to give place to some other form. The books tell us of the age of fishes, followed by the age of reptiles, and still later by the age of mammals. There are mammals to-day, and mammals long preceded the Tertiary Age, but mammalian life was never so rich, never so abundant as in the Tertiary Age. In all

[1] Vol. II. p. 710 *et seq.*
[2] Vol. II. p. 377, note 1.
[3] Ibid. note 3.
[4] Vol. II. p. 378.

forms of life there is a beginning, a culmination, and a decline. And each form of life as it declines is succeeded by another and higher form. There was first invertebrate life, then the lowest forms of vertebrate life. The fishes are followed by amphibians, then reptiles, then birds. The first mammals to appear were the lowest organized of all—the marsupials.[1]

The same law seems to hold good with races of men. There seems to have been first the age of the Black Races—the Paleolithic Age. After long preparation the age of the Yellow Races came on. They took up the work where the Black Races left it, and for a long term of years, they were the enterprising, progressive races of the world. In many ways we see we are in the presence of a higher stage of culture. History dawns just as their decline comes on. The history of early Chaldea, brief and fragmentary as it is shows us a long continued contest between the White and Yellow Races, extending over some thousands of years,[2] but in which the result is ever the same—the continued growth and increasing power of the White Race, the steady decline of the Yellow Race. In Asia Minor, what few and fragmentary notices we have of the Hittite confederacy seem to teach the same lesson.

A further parallel presents itself. Do we not see, in secluded localities where for some reason the lower forms of animal life are saved from competition with higher forms, a strange continuance of old life? Look at Australia that has been isolated from the continent of Asia since very early geological times and thus competition with higher endowed forms of life was impossible, and there we find those strange animal forms of earlier geological ages still in existence. So, when four centuries ago this new world

[1] Vol. I. p. 59. [2] Vol. II. chapter ix.

of ours was discovered, it was in full possession of the Yellow Races. But it is none the less true that in the culture history of the world, the Yellow Races reached their zenith of importance some thousands of years before the Christian Era. And here once more we will ask the reader to notice how utterly unable the older historians are to comprehend the importance of early historic times. Like the ancient astronomers, their stand-point is erroneous, and hence their narrow views and erroneous conclusions.

And here it is necessary to refer to the case of China. The advance armies of the Yellow Races, which for a long period of time held possession of the world, have indeed been driven back, but they still hold the original field of occupation. They have however long ceased to do more than hold a defensive position. Never again will the world tremble at the ominous march of a Genghis or Tammerlane. In the case of China, we see a wonderfully inert, impassive people. Wave after wave of other people have rolled in on them, have conquered them, only to be gradually overcome by the arts of the conquered. They have ended by becoming Chinese. Buddhism entered China, and for a time made rapid progress, it has ended by becoming Confucianism. Whether the same experience be in store for Christianity, time only will show. One element of hope in China is to be found in the numerous so-called barbarian tribes, which are more or less white in ethnology.[1]

Side by side with the decline of the Yellow Races, there is to be seen the increasing importance of the Whites. Taking widely extended views of past time, the historic period of the world's history corresponds to the rise of the Whites to a commanding position in the world. Of course

[1] See on this Vol. II p 413-450.

there are exceptions to this statement. We have just seen how in the case of Chaldea the dim light of its early historic period shows us the decline of the Yellow Races. The White Races, in many respects, are more highly organized than the Yellow Races.[1] We are called upon to notice the rise to power of two great divisions of the White Races in early times, the Hamites and the Semites.

There seems to be some slight connection between the languages of these two early stocks,[2] and furthermore the lines of migration, as far as we can trace them, seem to converge in the neighborhood of Abyssinia.[3] But this linguistic resemblance is so slight that they must have parted company very early in time; and the subsequent fortunes of the two divisions must have been different. When the Semitic people commenced to spread, they of course found, at least in all the favored localities of the Old World, Turanian people.

We are reasonably sure that such must have been the case in the valley of the Nile, though only the scantiest light is afforded us in this respect; for in yet prehistoric times the Nile Valley was overrun by Semitic tribes coming apparently from Abyssinia.[4] This union of Turanian and Semitic tribes constituted the Hamitic people;[5] and soon the historic period of ancient Egypt begins.

In regard to ancient Egypt, we found a great deal of interest. We noticed that all though Egyptian history, from its shadowy beginning to its tragical end, plain evidence that it rested on tribal society.[6] We observed how faulty was the ordinary understanding of the various dynasties of Egypt.[7] We learned the true meaning of

[1] Vol. II. p. 82. [2] Vol. II. p. 39. [3] Vol. II. p. 464-5 and 644, note 5.
[4] Vol. II p. 464 [5] Vol. II. p. 466. [6] Vol. II. p. 480, 499, 506 etc.
[7] Vol. II. p. 480

those strange *lacunae* or gaps in Egyptian history, they always occur when the Empire had disintegrated into the units composing it.[1] In matters of religion, we observe that strange combination of lower and higher religion due probably to the unequal union of Turanian and Semitic culture. Ancestor worship combined with the totemic system had resulted in the worship of animals.[2]

As far as the culture history of the world is concerned, we found the civilization of Egypt to be full of diappointment.[3] Their culture was rich, varied, in many respects wonderful, but it was also an isolated exotic. It is surprising how little influence they seem to have exerted on the world at large. Perhaps from them, the Phoenicians gained their ideas as to the formation of an alphabet, but this is questioned.[4] We are furthermore startled when we reflect on the unchangeable features of their culture. Egyptian life and times under the twentieth dynasty were not so very different from what they were under the fourth, though some thousands of years intervened.[5]

In this case we are asked to notice a striking similarity between Egypt and China. "Both were isolated countries; both showed a strange ability to assimilate other people; both built up a high civilization within their borders; but neither of them apparently exercised much influence on the culture of the world in general".[6] Several waves of people entered Egypt; sometimes they came as conquerors, but in all cases, they sooner or later became Egyptianized or were driven from the land. The same results bespeak the working of the same causes. We seem to be contemplating once more the effect of inborn race qualities.

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[1] Vol. II. p. 503. [2] Vol. II. p. 514. [3] Vol. II. p. 638.
[4] Vol. II. p. 246, 251. [5] Vol. II. p. 622. [6] Vol. II. p. 627.

In tracing out the fortunes of the Semitic people of Western Asia, we entered on a most interesting period. As far as we can now trace their movements, they converge to Arabia. We have no idea of the length of time they led their nomadic life on the arid plains of this peninsula before they commenced to send out great streams of migrating people. We know that that portion of Arabia bordering on the upper part of the Persian Gulf seems to be the center of dispersion for what is known as the northern branch of the Semitic people which includes by far the most important members of the race.[1] Even in prehistoric times they commence to move out from this common home.

We see the Syrians moving to the north and debouching on the fertile plains of Aram between the Euphrates and the Orontes Rivers. Coming somewhat later and bearing more to the west, occupying the seashore and the upland region of Palestine, came the Phoenicians and Canaanites, and following in their wake came the four closely related Hebrew divisions; the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and Israelites. The early movements of most of these people are completely lost in the night of time. Some had traditions of their former home in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf,[2] and the Hebrew people seem to have known of a migration from the east.

But the evidence of language cannot be gainsaid. These various people were closely connected, and must have had a common origin. As soon as they left the arid plains of Arabia, they must have come in contact with Turanian tribes, and they must either have driven them away or amalgamated with them.[3] The Israelites, after unknown years of nomadic wandering to the south and

[1] Vol. II. p. 646.
[2] The Phoenicians, Vol. II p 724.
[3] Vol. I. p. 721, 736.

west of the Dead Sea and one sojourn of unknown length of time in Egypt, forced themselves among the various Canaanite tribes of Palestine, with whom they finally coalesced.[1]

In the East most important movements of Semitic people had taken place; and here fortunately we have some means of testing the probable date of the migrations. We have noticed that in Mesopotamia the Turanian tribes had risen to a high stage of culture and influence.[2] For a long time at least, they must have held back the slowly rising Semitic tide. But a lodgement was at length obtained in Northern Chaldea. Accad became the center of political power and influence.[3] We have seen that, as early as 3800 B. C., all the northern portion of Chaldea had passed under Semitic influence. But many centuries were to elapse before Southern Chaldea was to likewise yield to Semitic influence. Finally in Mesopotamia we have seen the Assyrians taking their rise, destined to become the most powerful Semitic people, holding all other branches to tribute.

We must notice that in the case of the Semitic and Hamitic people there is every reason to suppose a most prolonged prehistoric period. Who can estimate the length of time it must have taken to develop their peculiar system of language,[4] or their strongly marked race features? We catch plain evidence of a mixture with surrounding people as they move away from their original home. In the case of the Semitic invaders of Mesopotamia, we know that it took a very prolonged time to fully complete the subjugation of the country and to assimilate their culture.[5] The

[1] Vol. II. p 748-755.
[2] Vol. II. p. 366 *et seq.*
[3] Vol. II. p. 664.
[4] Vol. II. p. 35.
[5] From some centuries before 3800 B. C., to about 3000 B. C., Vol. II. p. 667, 676.

same course of events must have taken place in Egypt and, in fact, in the case of all the migrating branches.

Hence in estimating the importance of the Semitic people in the culture history of the world, we have to learn first of their primitive culture, and then observe the union of this culture and the culture of the Yellow Races which they assimilated. In regard to the Semites in general we found them to be possessed of great energy and capacity of endurance and good mental endowments with great practical abilities, but their imaginative faculties are deficient.[1] Hence we see how they were especially well adapted to carry to practical ends the inventions of others. They are not great artists nor great inventors, but they are splendid developers. This being the case, we can understand the work they performed in advancing man.

In Chaldea, we see them at once assimilating the culture of the Turanian tribes, but carrying it forward to a higher stage. We pointed out how the resulting culture showed plain traces of this mixture; in some directions showing more traces of one previous condition of culture than of the other. In social and political organization, we saw a happy blending of these two cultures, and thus strongly organized governments took form.[2] In the fields of arts and sciences in one direction only, that of astronomy, could the Semites give information to their Turanian subjects.[3] But they could carry forward the ideas advanced by them in other fields. For instance take the subject of writing and literature. They adopted the cuneiform system of writing of the Turanians and consequently the Turanian literature. But we notice not only great improvement in the writing, but a great increase in learning. Following in the wake of the Semitic conquest, we note the formation of

1 Vol. II. p. 699 2 Vol. II. p. 704. 3 Ibid. 705.

great libraries in all the royal cities. In short, Semitic influence in Chaldea was the medium by means of which the Turanian culture was revived, enlarged, and transmitted to the world at large.

In the case of the Phœnicians, we found that owing to their peculiar surroundings they were pre-eminently the traders of antiquity. Early European civilization owes a great debt to the Phœnicians They were not the inventors of the pottery art, nor of glass, and perhaps not of the purple dye, but they did know how to carry the manufacture of pottery, bronze, glass, and dyed woolen goods to a great extent; and, not satisfied with their home market or overland trade, they sent their ships to all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and thus awoke in them a knowledge of, and consequently a desire for, the comforts and luxuries of civilization. The alphabet we use to-day can be traced back to the Phœnicians. They were not the inventors of the idea, but they knew how to develop the clumsy hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, perhaps applying to this question the knowledge they had gained of the system of writing in use in Mesopotamia,[1] the result being our alphabet.

In the case of the Phœnicians, we found an excellent illustration of the fact that trade and commerce are powerful agents in advancing civilization; it was Phœnician trade and commerce that flooded Europe with the products of civilization. It is a striking comment on the Phœnician culture that though they must have been intimately acquainted with foreign lands and customs, and thus must have gathered great stores of information, yet they produced no scholar who sought to make the information so obtained of value to mankind. Yet in Phœnicia itself, one of the

[1] Vol. II. p. 251.

finest flowers of civilization first burst into bloom, the individual first made his appearance, rights and duties were no longer confined to groups.[1]

The Semitic tribes who invaded the valley of the Nile at an extremely early day met a slightly different fate than was the case in Chaldea. Though conquering the country, they were not strong enough to overcome the tendencies of race. Advance in culture may have been very rapid for a while, but it soon reached a nearly stationary stage. This, together with their isolated position and the natural advantages of their location, made Egyptian history and culture what it was. But in this connection we must not forget the singular position of women, so different from the ordinary Oriental treatment of women.[2]

There is a department of culture in which the Semitic people exercised considerable influence on the world, the field of religion. We examined the question of Semitic Monotheism, and found that owing to their strong, practical cast of mind and their lack of imaginative power, on the one side, and their strongly developed tribal system on the other,[3] they had approached Monotheism through the stage of ancestor worship.[4] They had no richly developed system of Polytheism.

We can then understand the result. The Turanian people possessed great mythological systems, vast collections of incantations, holy songs, and religious poems. In Chaldea, where these two people coalesced, we find that the Semitic conquerors adopted the greater portion of Turanian religion.[5] But we also notice Semitic influence at work. Monotheistic tendencies are satisfied by elevating one god to the supremacy, as for instance Asshur among the As-

[1] Vol. II. p. 734. [2] Vol. I. p. 637.
[3] Vol. II. p. 699. [4] Ibid. 202. [5] Ibid. 706.

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syrians.[1] As we have seen, great collections of sacred writings were made. In the case of Egypt, Semitic influence was unable to accomplish as much, but we have reason to believe that, as an esoteric doctrine, Semitic Monotheism was held by the priests.

Results similar to those worked out in Chaldea confront us in the religious culture of Phoenicia, Syria, and the Canaanites. But the four divisions of the Hebrew people, coming at a later date, were not exposed to Turanian influence and probably remained much truer to the Semitic type. We know this to be true of the Moabites who worshiped Chemosh as their god.[2] The Israelites are the one important people in this respect. We have referred to the very exaggerated ideas of their importance given them by many older writers. But it remains true that in the field of religious culture they held quite strongly to this qualified Monotheism of which we have spoken. Their prophets and leaders in religious thought seem to have early been led up to a higher standard, and we have referred to their efforts to advance the mass of the people to this same plane.[3]

Let us refer to our geological illustration once more. We spoke of the age of the Black Races followed in time by the age of the Yellow Races. We saw that this latter stage was just passing away as the uncertain light of early history dawns. Hence broadly speaking, the historic period of man's life on the globe falls in the age of the White Races. But this later period is itself capable of subdivisions. It falls naturally into the Ancient, Medieval, and Modern periods. The civilization and culture of the Hamitic and Semitic people belong to the ancient period. Their beginning falls in prehistoric time, their culmination to the first clear light of history, their decline com-

[1] Ibid. 805. [2] Vol. II. p. 745. [3] Vol. II. p. 755, 762.

menced a number of centuries before the Christian Era. Their great work in advancing the cause of civilization consisted in building on the foundation already laid by the Turanian people.

But the inevitable hour finally dawned when the Semitic people were to gradually cease to be the leaders in the world. Another people were to come on the stage of action. The civilization of the world was to enter on still another plane of culture. The European age was at hand. This brings us once more to the consideration of the Aryans. On looking over the entire field, we found reason to conclude, though in opposition to our previous opinions, that Europe was the home of the Aryan people. This opinion must not be pressed too strongly, nor entertained with too much persistence; it is not as well established as some other conclusions, all we can say is, that the general drift of opinion seems to be in that direction, and that there is no good reason for coming to an opposite conclusion.

A great deal remains to be settled in regard to race. The older opinion was that the main branches of the White Races—the Hamites, Semites, and Aryans—were once on a time co-dwellers in some common home. We can now find no scientific basis for this belief. We have just discussed the possible relations between the Hamites and the Semites. We have seen that it is possible that at an extremely early day these two branches formed but one people. But that is all we can say. We cannot trace them out of Western Asia. The lines of migration seem to point to Abyssinia or Southern Arabia. All efforts to show any especial connection between the Aryan and Semitic people, on the side of language at least, have failed.[1]

[1] Vol. II. p. 37. note I.

There is probably no question but that this idea has been very influential in forming the current opinion that the Aryans migrated from Asia. If we can but once persuade ourselves that the sense in which the branches of the White Races are closely related to each other is that they have alike developed from the widely spread Yellow Races, we will then feel more at liberty to deny the Asiatic origin of the Aryans. Almost all the nations of Europe have met in friendly contact in America within the last few hundred years. Owing to trade and commerce and modern culture, the language remains English. But there is probably no question that a peculiar type of people, the American type, is evolving here. Some centuries may yet elapse before the change is complete.

We may never be able to settle definitely how the Yellow Races divaricated from the Black. We have little doubt, however, that it was owing to the long, slow working of substantially similar causes as are now at work in America. And similarly in regard to the Whites. As far as we are justified in drawing any conclusions from the present location or earliest recorded movements of the Semitic people, we place their origin somewhere in the vicinity of the Red Sea. As there is no especial reason, beyond vague tradition, to conclude that the Semites and Aryans ever inhabited a common home, we know of no good reason for endeavoring to establish a home in Asia, for the Aryans.

We examined into the early movements of the Aryans, and found that according to history and tradition on this point, they seem to converge in Europe to the region of country around the Southern Baltic.[1] We can only surmise that for long ages the new race type had been slowly form-

[1] Vol III. chapter 1

ing here. Here as elsewhere, like causes produced like effects. The home-land became over-crowded. In various directions, migrating people commenced to move away from their common home. We can at once see the result. The various bands of migrating people came in contact with the older settled Turanian people. Intermixture of blood must ensue. This combined with a great many other causes tended in time to produce the various Aryan people in Europe.[1] These movements began in extremely early times. Neolithic culture still held sway in Western Europe when the Celts arrived in that section of the country.[2]

In a southerly direction we know that those mysterious people the Pelasgians, more or less Aryan in ethnology,[3] had crowded into Asia Minor. At an extremely early day we know that they crowded through the dreary passes of the Caucasian Mountains and probably gave rise to the Alarodian people.[4] A great deal of interest centers on the Asiatic migration of these people. Crowding into the plains of Southern Russia they must have slowly gathered force before entering Asia to the north of the Caspian. For a long period of time they were held back by Asiatic tribes.

But at length they succeeded in gaining entrance into Asia. Fortunately we can detect in the dim light of early history the troublous movements of many people which seem to have been caused by this invasion.[5] The invaders, probably well pleased with their new home, settled in contented quietude to the east of the Caspian Sea.[6] This became a second center of dispersion. Or perhaps it may be, that in the course of time the return waves of Turanian

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[1] Vol III. p 67 *et seq.*
[2] Vol. I. p. 214. Vol. III. p. 73.
[3] Vol III p 186
[4] Ibid. 195.
[5] Vol. III. p. 683
[6] Map Vol III p 50.

people, succeeded in dislodging a large proportion of the intruders and assimilating to some extent with those remaining. Be that as it may, we know, that at a very early date the Hindoos entered India from the north-west, and the Iranians commence to spread out on the plains of Iran.[1]

Also at this same early time we found traces of a great stream of at least partially Aryan people setting east through the gates of Kashgar. We found the probable descendants of these people in the so-called barbarian tribes of China.[2] This eastward movement of Aryan people is probably the explanation of those traces of White blood in the ethnology of various people in South-easthern Asia and even in the islands of Polynesia.[3] In short we are to regard the Aryans of Asia as exotics. Two branches of them came to early maturity—the Hindoos and the Iranians. It was the rising power of the latter which finally crushed Semitic power in Western Asia.

It is in Europe, however, that we are to look for the full development of Aryan life and culture. It is most interesting to watch the intellectual development of Europe. We have observed the culture of Mesopotamia and Westtern Asia, we have seen how, under the influence of Semitic genius, the earlier culture of the Turanian tribes had been developed, and carried to surrounding people. Probably all Europe was profiting by this trade with the Orient, not only through Phœnician sources, but overland from Asia itself.[4] Animated by the civilization they saw around them the Aryan invaders of Asia Minor, entered on their career of progress. But soon the theater of Aryan

1 Vol. III. chapter ii.
2 Vol. II. p. 435. Vol. III. p. 46.
3 Vol. III. p. 50, map. Also p. 52 *et seq*. Vol. II. p. 73, 450.
4 Vol. I. p. 252. Vol. III. p. 210.

civilization was enlarged. Greece invited teachers and artisans across the Aegaean,[1] and we see Oriental culture taking root in Hellas, springing up into a most vigorous growth, and producing results not before dreamed of.

And here for some centuries Aryan culture flourished in luxuriance. In all departments of life advance is to be noticed. We see government passing out of its tribal state,[2] codes of well considered laws make their appearance, modern sciences are seen to be taking their rise, literature of all kinds flourishes, and systems of philosophical thought begin to take the place of the older mythologies.[3] But along with all this, we must not fail to notice the exceedingly contracted area which enjoyed this new culture and learning. But the time at length dawned when another people were to claim the supremacy and a new phase of European culture was to ensue.

We traced the gradual rise of the Romans. We have to notice what a singular ethnical mixture laid the foundation of the Roman tribes.[4] We must observe the several centuries of slow growth in power, and then the resistless spread of their arms and influence until all the countries contiguous to the Mediterranean had passed under their control. We also studied Roman civilization and have observed wherein it differed from that of the Greeks. We might say that the culture of Greece was intense, polished, and refined, fitted only for a nation of scholars, artists, poets and philosophers. The civilization of Rome was more of the practical every day sort; government, law, and practical inventions engrossed their attention.

But still a third stage of medieval culture remained to be considered; the Teutonic. Although we have but very

[1] Vol. III. p. 205.
[2] Vol. II. p. 178. *et seq.* [3] Vol. III. chapter vi. [4] Vol. III. p. 265.

little light to guide us, we are reasonably sure that the various tribes of Europe, who had been slowly passing through the stages of barbarism, were drawing near to the confines of civilization. But the time finally came that Rome could no longer protect her immense empire from their wandering assaults, and we notice the development of Europe enter on its third phase. We must notice how the area subject to culture has been enlarged, in each case. Its beginning was the extremely limited area of Greece, it finally included Europe.

To-day Aryans include in their ranks the progressive nations of the world, and modern culture is altogether Aryan, but it, also, rests on a Turanian foundation, very largely influenced from a Semitic source. As the Aryans are not at all lacking in imaginative faculties, they have been inventors as well a developers; and thus it is that in all directions advance has been made. However, there was one long period of years when the Aryan advance was retarded by the unfortunate attitude of the church in regard to learning. It took a long while for this retarding influence to be removed, and even yet it is felt in certain directions.

It was the co-working of several causes that ushered in the Modern Age of the world. The discovery of America by Columbus, which gave a great impetus to trade and commerce, greatly advanced our knowledge of the world on which we live, and afforded room for the further development of the Aryan people. This was followed by the invention of printing. It is impossible to overestimate the marvelous influence this invention has had in advancing the world in culture. It is not too much to say that modern civilization would be impossible without the aid of printing. By its aid, the accumulated knowl-

edge, no less than the daily experiences of the world, is laid before the student, who is thus made the recipient of a vast store of information denied to the ancients. The two factors thus far named gave rise to modern learning, and the modern age was begun. One of the first fruits of this new age was the Protestant Reformation, which shook off the shackles of scholastic theology, and took the first steps in bringing modern Christianity into full agreement with the highest learning and culture of the day.

Thus far we have been considering the past, what of the future? We have little doubt that, as the years pass by, Aryan civilization will continue to grow. Think for a moment of the advance in practical arts and sciences of the last twenty five years—ocean cables, electric lights and railways, cable-railways, telephones, phonographs, not to mention the hundreds of minor inventions all contributing to the physical comfort of man. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, the near future has as great if not greater discoveries in store for man.

Looking to the past, we see certain very great changes taking place in various directions that have wonderfully influenced advancing culture. In government, we have, for instance, seen tribal society taking its rise, after a long series of years giving place to modern political government. Is this the final stage, or will future wants and exigencies call forth some other plan of government? Time only can answer such a query as this. One thing is evident that grave dangers are now confronting organized society, not only in Europe but in this country as well. The wisest prophet can not tell just how the future will deal with these various social problems. The early Greeks and Romans had to meet and solve problems relatively quite similar. They succeeded in their task, and political

society arose. We ought to have little doubt that, if it becomes necessary, society in the future will not hesitate to reorganize itself in its attempt to solve the social problems crowding upon it. And we need have as little doubt that, when this is done, progress will become more rapid than ever. But here observe, we do not say such re-arrangement is in store for us. All we want to say is, that some way will be found of dealing with the various problems that now confront us and in such a way as to further advance the general good.

Social advance must take place along the two great divisions already pointed out. Advance in science and in religion. Advance in science, in the knowledge of Nature's laws, and in practical application of the same to the wants of humanity, who can foresee the end! Let us reflect that the wisest men that live are but children on the shore, the great ocean of the unknown is before them. In every department of science, how quickly we reach the stage where no explanation is possible! How much is known about electricity? We talk about brain force—what do we mean, who can explain it, who knows the limits of its power? We look for greater conquests to be achieved in the future than have been dreamed of in the past. All this must wonderfully enrich the civilization of the future.

So, too, in the field of religion. We have observed religion passing out of its territorial or tribal stage; it becomes world wide in its aim. We need not doubt the Infinite Father's pitying care has even been extended to his children, men. We need not doubt his spirit has been quick to assist those who sought him in sincerity and truth, even those who had not learned to call him Abba, Father. Hence we need not doubt that the

great leaders and teachers of religion have been in some way assisted by him. Thus advance took place in the past, thus it will continue to take place in the future.

Hence we have faith that in the future, as in the past, man will live a life of progress. We do not look forward to a happy time when man shall have grown perfect in knowledge and the exercise of all Christian virtues; from the nature of things, that will never be in a finite world; but we do look for improvement in all that goes to make up our present civilization. We believe it is as impossible to foresee the culture of one thousand years hence, as it was for a citizen of ancient Rome to anticipate the culture of the nineteenth century.

In bringing this chapter to a close, we bring to a close our "History of Civilization". It is of course in many respects faulty, but we trust those who peruse even cursorily its pages, will obtain some new ideas as to the antiquity and past history of man. If such be the case, let us further hope that in the history of the race may be found an incentive to that kind of life which will most advance man as an individual. Race advance is possible only when the individuals of that race endeavor to advance. Strive then to grow in knowledge; do your share in diffusing what you thus acquire; deem no subject too abstruse or too sacred to be inquired into. But with a prayer for guidance, with a determination to be loyal ever to Truth, with due regard for the opinions of others, with reverence for the beliefs of the age, resolve to be a man and make the most of life and its infinite possibilities.

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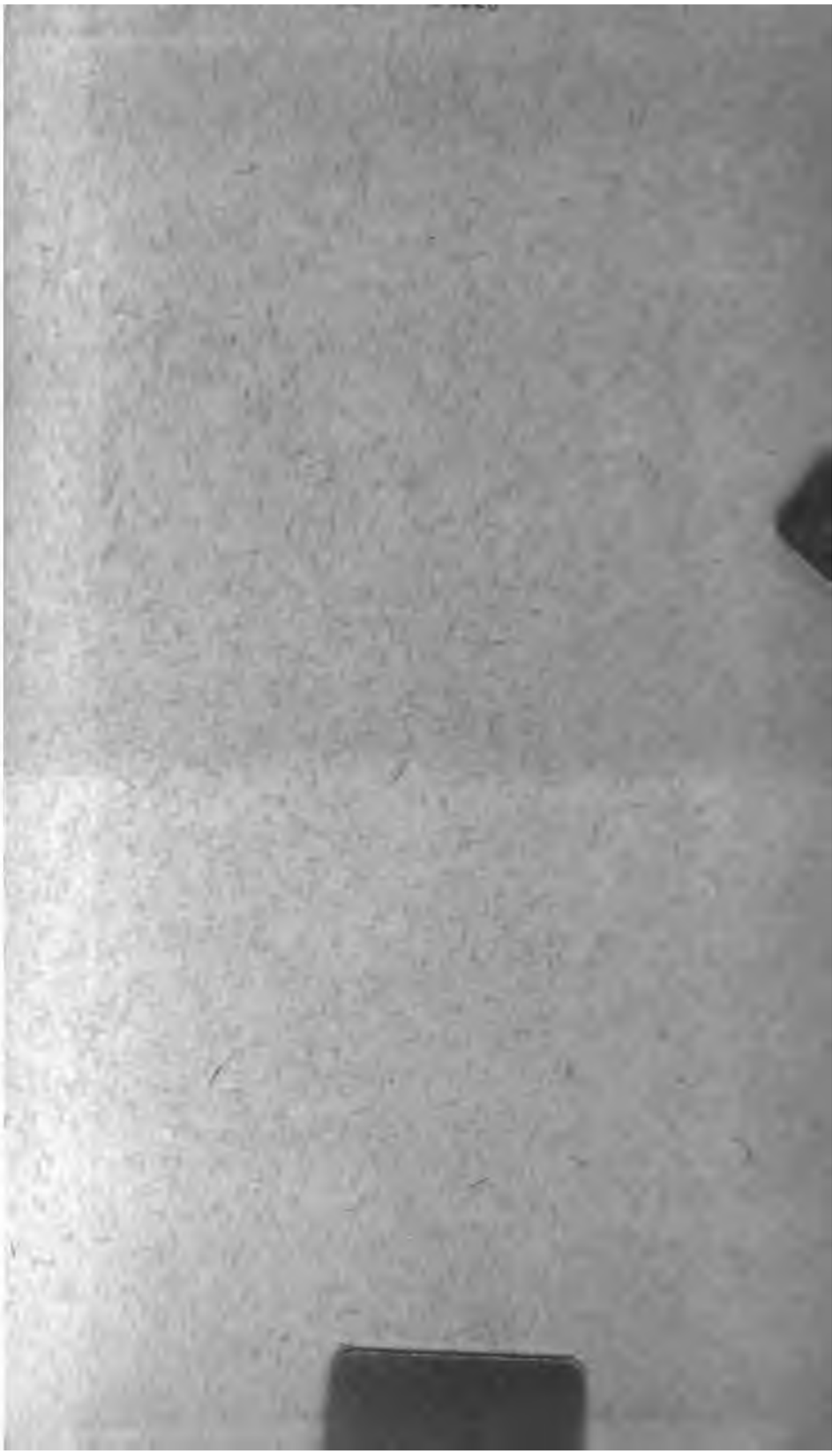
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